The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1894.

The Week.

THERE will be no business revival in this country for several years to come if the Republican campaign orators and managers can have their way about it. One by one they are taking the position that there cannot and must not be a return of prosperity till the Democrats are put out of office. This was the burden of ex-Speaker Reed's "keynote," struck a few weeks ago, and it is the burden of that struck by Mr. McKinley at Bangor on Saturday. Ex-President Harrison has not struck his formal "keynote" yet, but the few guarded observations that he has permitted himself to make have all displayed an undertone of hostility towards good times and prosperity which shows that he has his eye on those un-Republican and un-American manifestations, and will join with the other statesmen of his party in rebuking and suppressing them when the proper time comes. Mr. McKinley agrees with Mr. Reed that the present tariff bill is not a finality, since "it is a settlement which does not settle anything," and he takes the ground that the only way by which to make it a finality till the end of Cleveland's term is to elect a Republican Congress this fall. A Democratic victory, he says, would mean "further and longer steps in the direction of free trade—deeper cuts and more deadly blows upon our industrial life"; while a Republican victory would mean that, "during the closing half of Mr. Cleveland's administration, the enemies of the protective system will be unable successfully to wage war upon the prosperity of the country"—meaning the prosperity of the past as it existed under the blessed McKinley law.

Senator Jones's withdrawal from the Republican party is followed by the announcement, in the columns of the New York *Press*, that Senator Dubois intends to follow his example unless the next Republican national convention shall declare for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. This means free coinage without reference to the policy of any other nation. The Senator from Idaho says also that if the Republican party does not come up to the mark in 1896, Senator Teller of Colorado and several others will go the same way. These outgivings have a good deal of significance in a political way. The *Press* itself views them with great alarm. This paper is founded upon the idea that the American people, although possessing the richest country on the globe in respect of natural resources, cannot make a living without a tariff, and consequently it is almost pallid in the presence of this secession of the rotten boroughs that were brought in as States in order to maintain the Republican majority in the Senate. It appeals to them to consider "the recent utterances of Republicans like Reed, Lodge, Hoar, Cameron, and others." It says that the movement towards free coinage in the East is slow, but it is in the right direction. It admonishes the party in the East to consider "the vast dimensions of the injury that has been inflicted upon the West by the demonetization of silver and the constant appreciation of gold"; all these remarks being suggestions that a fifty-cent piece ought to be declared equal to a dollar.

As to declaring for free coinage by separate action on the basis of 16 to 1, the Republican national convention is quite as likely to pass a resolution endorsing the Wilson tariff bill. Such a step would snuff out the party in most of the states east of the Mississippi River; and would gain nothing west of it that they have not held heretofore. Under such circumstances party necessity and party wisdom alike require that these rotten-borough Senators, who are Populists at heart, should be told in their own expressive language to "vamose the ranch." Their departure cannot be long delayed in any case. Therefore they should be ushered out with no more ceremony than ordinary politeness requires. The country will be much benefited by having all the free-coinage men in one party, instead of hanging on the skirts of two parties and giving direction to both. It has cost the nation upwards of four hundred million dollars to cater to the silverites without really pleasing them. Now let them "flock all alone," and let us see how many people really want a fifty-cent dollar.

While national issues were the controlling ones in the recent election of a Governor and Legislature in Vermont—according to the absurd fashion in such cases—there seems good reason to believe that the great Republican majority, which has never been equalled in any other year midway of a Presidential term, was in part due to the refreshing contrast between the character and methods of the Republican candidate for Governor this year, and in the two previous gubernatorial contests. Both in 1888 and in 1890 men were nominated who, to quote the words of the Rutland *Herald*, "would never by any possibility have been dreamed of as candidates in anything like a close State, but managed to get the support of nearly all the party men who direct the State machine." Both were men who had a good deal of money and who were ready to spend it in the many ways, short of downright purchase, by which it is possible to interest the men who "run the machine" in carrying caucuses and conventions. Neither had any hold upon the masses of the voters, and in each case there was much resentment among independent-minded Republicans at their success. This year, on the other hand, a man worthy to be Governor was made the candidate without a resort to crooked or questionable methods, and every Republican in the State felt that his nomination ought to be endorsed. The small Republican majorities in 1890 and 1892, and the large majority this year, therefore, all indicate the healthiness of public sentiment in a State so one-sided politically as Vermont.

The Ohio wool-growers met in annual convention for the thirtieth time last week, and we do not wonder that they were filled with impotent rage as they contemplated the fruit of their labors for a generation. In 1867 they succeeded in getting monstrous duties laid for their benefit, only to see them lowered in 1883. Then they persisted in exacting the uttermost farthing from McKinley in 1890, with the result of stirring up such indignation against them that they are now left without any protection at all. Meanwhile the price of wool has been steadily going down year by year. For more than a year the laws of trade have been setting protection on wool at defiance, and American wool has been practically on a free-trade basis. "Our property [that is, the right to levy taxes]," says Judge Lawrence, "has been annihilated." This may be admitted, with rejoicing. But the real property of wool-growers, in the sense of their actual sheep and actual wool, as distinguished from sheep and wool for platform purposes only, has not been touched by the new tariff. One audacious man rose to affirm as much in the convention, and to point out that the price of American wool was actually advancing. Such heresy took away the breath of the "wool kings" for a time, but they soon recovered it sufficiently to vilify the unhappy farmer who ventured to set up as a student of markets, not of maxims. But, though they howled him down, they cannot howl down the market reports. Here is one sent from Chicago, just as the wool-growers' convention was meeting, which speaks of the woollen market as "firm," with holders determined not to "reduce

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values," and which lays down the broad proposition that "the great medium grade of wool which is produced in the United States, both staple and clothing, will no doubt hold its own against all foreign wool of the same quality."

If the financial condition of the Fall River cotton-mills is contrasted with that of the mills at Oldham in England, it would seem that our manufacturers have little need to fear foreign competition. The capital of the Fall River mills is about $21,000,000, and during the current year they have paid dividends at the rate of about 5 per cent. per annum upon this capital. Probably some have not earned their dividends, but others may have earned more than they have paid. This is not a very satisfactory rate of profit for manufacturing concerns, but it is doing pretty well, considering the hard times. It would be thought doing very well in Oldham. The president of the Manchester Statistical Society shows that 101 cotton-spinning companies in that district have a capital amounting to £7,372,000. During the last six months 65 of these companies have paid no dividends; the other 36 have managed to distribute the meagre sum of £35,667. Returns of profit and loss are made by 93 companies, 41 showing a profit of £52,900, and 52 showing a loss of £344,609, or a net adverse balance for the 101 of £291,709. We should add that the English reports include money borrowed on mortgage in the capital account, so that the share capital is really not very much more than half the amount given above. In fact, the net loss is nearly 10 per cent. of the share capital. It is hardly reasonable to maintain that foreign competitors in this wretched financial condition are likely to be formidable to New England cotton-manufacturers.

The annual statistical report of the American Iron and Steel Association for the year 1893 by James M. Swank, is published. We learn from the introductory matter that the association has been compelled, by lack of funds, to discontinue the publication of tariff tracts, but that it left no stone unturned to prevent the passage of the new tariff bill. It records in an historical way the final passage of that bill, but does not say what it thinks of the measure, since it has passed, merely remarking that "now that the worst is known, all employers of labor may well look forward and not backward." Evidently the world is not coming to an end yet. The statistics of iron and steel production for 1893 show a decline of about two million tons of pig, nearly one million tons of Bessemer steel ingots, and about half a million tons of rails as compared with 1892. This slackening of demand was due to the slackening of railway construction and of locomotive and car-building, both of which fell off about one-half. On the other hand, iron-ship building, including vessels for the navy, increased 20 per cent. Our exports of iron and steel in all forms, including locomotives and other machinery, also increased, rising from a little under twenty-eight million in 1892 to a little more than thirty million dollars' worth in 1893. The mining of iron ore fell off 4,700,000 tons. That of coal remained nearly stationary. The statistics of foreign iron and steel show that our production of pig-iron in 1893 exceeded that of Great Britain by nearly 200,000 tons, while in Bessemer steel ingots we exceeded her by 1,700,000 tons.

New England papers are calling attention to the great exodus of French-Canadians, who are returning to their old homes in a steady stream, the number who have crossed the border into the province of Quebec since the beginning of summer being estimated at about 40,000. Judging from the way people generally talked about these immigrants when they began coming, we should expect to hear their departure greeted with, "A good riddance to bad rubbish," but there are no signs of satisfaction. The truth seems to be that they have overcome a good deal of the prejudice which formerly existed against them. They have proved an orderly element, and the dangers apprehended from their clannishness and other race faults have proved less than was apprehended.

Judging from the experience of Postmaster Dayton, there would be no surer way of hastening the progress of civil-service reform than by shipping the chief spoilsmen to England, with instructions to study the workings of the merit system where it has been in operation for many years. Mr. Dayton is most frank and emphatic in his confessions. To a question by the London correspondent of the New York *Times* whether there is enough difference between English and American practice regarding the civil service in the department to attract his attention, he replied:

> "Yes, my admiring attention. It is hard for an American to realize how completely the notion of partisanship, offensive or defensive, has been eradicated from the civil service here. The postmaster-general is, of course, a politician, who retires with a change of administration. When he is an important public and party man, like Mr. Morley, he has a seat in the cabinet. But think of it! Out of the 125,000 men in the postal service of Great Britain, not to mention 16,000 women, he is positively the only individual whose tenure of place can be affected by any political change."

Mr. Dayton says further that he has devoted some time to investigating this particular question, and that the employees are "perfectly free to hold party views, and I find some of my friends among them belonging to political clubs, equivalent to the Manhattan or Union League at home, but of aggressive partisanship I can't discover a trace. It isn't that they dissemble it; they simply don't feel it—don't know what it is." Evidently this was an unexpected revelation to the postmaster of New York, though the facts are perfectly familiar to every student of governmental methods. It may be hoped that Mr. Dayton will return cured of the absurd idea with which he announced his acceptance of the office, that in filling vacancies he should always give the preference to members of Tammany Hall.

The present canvass in Georgia has a bearing upon the discussion of the referendum system. Three amendments to the Constitution are to be passed upon by the voters at the State election on the first Wednesday in October—one changing the time for the meeting of the Legislature from October to July, the second providing for an increase in the number of Supreme Court judges from three to five, and the third granting pensions to ex-Confederate soldiers who are indigent, as well as to those suffering from wounds. So little attention has been paid to any one of these subjects that the Savannah *News* feels moved to say:

> "What about the constitutional amendments that are to be voted upon at the approaching State election? Are any of the candidates discussing them, and explaining the meaning of them, and what their effect would be if they should be adopted? If not, why not? It is of the utmost importance that the people should vote understandingly upon these amendments."

The *News* proceeds to discuss the questions involved, and points out that the people ought not to be left to vote blindly on the pension amendment particularly, since it may be that its adoption would greatly increase the tax burden—though nobody has yet presented any figures on either side. If it is so hard to get people to take interest in amendments to the Constitution, it is easy to imagine what would happen if a number of proposed laws were submitted to popular vote at every election. Calling the process of submission "the referendum" is not going to make any difference—as it would almost seem that some advocates of the system really suppose.

The greatest production of gold in any one year prior to 1893 was that of 1853, when both Australia and California were making their greatest output. But the gold product in 1893, a year of slackened production in most lines, was the greatest ever recorded. Moreover, this high figure—$155,522,000—was the result of a very quick response to an increased de-

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mand, for in 1889 the production was but $110,197,000. The recent increase in the gold product of this country is mainly due to the cessation of the artificial stimulus to silver production given by the act of 1890. The Government purchases of silver being stopped, the mining companies found that there was more profit in mining gold, and they have therefore changed their industry. In other countries new mines have been discovered and abandoned ones have been reopened; while in all countries improved processes have been employed, by which refractory ores that were formerly deemed unworkable can be reduced. The quickly exhausted alluvial deposits are no longer the chief source of supply. Powerful machinery, better mining appliances, and new chemical processes are continually cheapening production. There appears to be ample evidence to justify the belief that the production of gold will continue to increase under the influences that have recently stimulated it. With these facts before the public, it may be hoped that those who have been sincerely apprehensive of a "gold famine" will experience some relief of their anxiety. According to the arguments of the bimetallists, this increased production of gold is pregnant with benefit to the "debtor class." If we may speak for the "creditor class," we can say that it contemplates a largely increased supply of gold with equanimity. If this should have the happy result of quieting the agitation for upsetting the present standard of value, it would be a blessing without alloy.

The financial difficulties of the Indian Government have occasioned perplexity not only to bimetallists and monometallists, but also to free-traders. When a government finds its revenue less than its expenditure, it seldom accomplishes much in the way of economy, but casts about for new sources of revenue. It is claimed that there can be no increase in the internal taxes of India, and that the deficiency must be met by imposing import duties. But the great manufacturing interests of Manchester have convinced the English Government that it would not be expedient to impose taxes upon the importation of their goods into India. Such a tax, they claim, would operate as a protective duty in favor of the Indian manufacturers of cotton goods. On the other hand, the Indians protest against the imposition of a compensating tax upon domestic manufactures. They use the familiar protectionist arguments in support of their position. A consistent free-trade policy, however, would certainly forbid the imposition of import duties which operate as a bounty to particular individuals, and the Indian Government will be obliged to obtain revenue in some other way than by a protective tariff. In truth, that government is now suffering from its own improvidence. It incurred a very heavy debt by engaging in the "Jingo" policy against Russia, and it is saddled with burdensome guarantees of the bonds of railroads that do not pay expenses. It has guaranteed interest at the average rate of 4¾ per cent. upon the capital of the roads, while according them a share of excess profits, and it has taken upon itself all the loss on exchange in remitting the interest to England. The result is that its guarantee of 4¾ per cent. costs it about 7 per cent. It is probable that the whole fiscal system of the Government would profit by a thorough investigation; but there is little prospect that such a remedy will be adopted.

For some years the conservative element among the English trade-unionists has been rapidly losing ground. Not long since this element was in complete control, managing the affairs of the unions with much ability, and applying to Parliament only for such laws as were necessary to relieve them from some rather serious legal disabilities. In fact, the representatives of the unions, when they attended the international congresses upon the Continent, were looked upon as reactionaries of a benighted type, and were in a hopeless minority in all the voting. But the socialists have succeeded in deluding the working people with their ideals, and when the unions meet now they devote their time to devising schemes for carrying on industry by the state. At the session which has just closed in London it was resolved that the state might maintain technical schools, but that no pupils should be admitted except those approved by the trade-unions. Resolutions were also adopted to the effect that promoters of public works should be compelled to provide suitable dwellings for their workmen, and that employers should be punished for importing laborers into a place where, in the opinion of the unions, there is a sufficient supply to meet the needs of the district. On Thursday a proposition to nationalize all mineral lands and royalty rents came up, and, after being amended so as to include "the whole of the means of production, distribution, and exchange," was adopted, "amid a scene of wild enthusiasm," by a vote of 219 to 61.

The speech delivered last week by the Emperor William to the nobles of East Prussia has certainly a mediæval ring, but it is both consistent with his known principles and suitable for his audience. It was the speech of a king, ruling by divine right, to nobles resting their title upon practically the same foundation. The nobles can claim for themselves no exclusive privileges without coming back in the last analysis to this principle; and unless they are prepared to surrender their own rank and titles they must defend those of their sovereign. It is too late to replace a monarchy by an aristocracy now; if monarchy goes, democracy comes in in Germany. Hence it is for the interest, and it is in one sense the duty, of the nobility to stand by their king and not attempt to thwart his policy. Instead of yielding to a real diplomatic necessity, and accepting the treaty reducing the duties upon the agricultural products of Russia as an unavoidable concession to circumstances, many of the nobility, especially those whose estates march with the Russian frontier, chose to oppose it, and continued to sulk after it was adopted. This "Agrarian" party was the object of the Emperor's reproaches.

The war between China and Japan resembles in some of its strategic aspects that which was fought in the Crimea. China, like Russia, fights at one of its remote extremities, depending chiefly upon its land forces. Japan, like the allies, can reach its adversary only by the use of its naval power. The news from the seat of war is not very trustworthy, but it seems to indicate that the Japanese naval power is superior to that of the Chinese. But, curiously enough, China has an advantage from her backwardness which Japan has lost through her aspiration to the rank of a civilized power. By the Declaration of Paris in 1856, privateering was abolished, and the doctrine that the neutral flag covers the enemy's goods, except those contraband of war, was proclaimed. Of course, this declaration bound only the nations that adopted it. China has not acceded to it, but Japan has. China can therefore issue letters of marque to privateers, and thus destroy the mercantile marine of Japan directly, and she can also capture neutral vessels laden with Japanese goods and condemn such merchandise in a prize court. It is true that Japan is not bound by the Declaration, so far as China is concerned, and may attack her commerce directly; but the flag of a neutral signatory to the Declaration will protect Chinese goods, except contraband of war. Thus an English merchantman is bound to submit to be searched, and if an enemy's goods are found on board, to be captured and taken into port by a Chinese privateer, but is not bound to submit to either at the hands of a Japanese privateer. As the United States have never adopted the Declaration of Paris, their merchant vessels would fare the same no matter into whose hands they fell, so far as this point is concerned. But, owing to the dominance of England in the Oriental trade, the advantage of China over Japan in a war carried on by privateers would be considerable.

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THE MAINE ELECTION.

THE country seems to be pretty full of Democrats of Mr. Cleveland's way of thinking—that the tariff bill was not good enough to be signed and not bad enough to be vetoed. This was evidently the way in which the Democrats of Maine looked at the subject on Monday last. They absented themselves from the polls largely, and some of them, but not very many, voted the Republican ticket. It was not exactly an overturn, since Maine is always a Republican State, but it answers all the purposes of an overturn. It shows that the Democrats have no stomach for the fight this year. The reasons why they have not are not far to seek.

We shall not go back to the silver panic of last year and its disastrous consequences to business. It came at a time when it was easy to persuade those who do not comprehend such matters (and they are the great majority) that it was due to Democratic success in the national election of the previous year, and to the fear of coming tariff changes. This was purely an accident, but there was, of course, no way to avoid it. The tariff must needs be reduced according to the promise of the successful party. Any hesitation to fulfil this promise would have been equivalent to abdication. It was a serious mistake that the work was not begun immediately with the incoming of the new administration. In that case the benefits of tariff reduction, whatever they were to be, would have demonstrated themselves nearly a year before another congressional election. Practically a year passed by, and this was a year of business disaster. Broadly speaking, the time was not lost, since it was filled up by the repeal of the silver bill, a more important step than any tariff bill whatsoever, but not a step to have an immediate political effect. All that could be hoped from it was a gradual mend, a slow recovery from the panic of the previous year.

When the real work of tariff reform was taken up, there was universal eagerness for speedy completion of it The bill was pushed in the House as rapidly perhaps as such bills ever move. When it reached the Senate, it met an obstruction that had not been anticipated, and when this obstruction came to be examined, it was found that the most conspicuous and odious monopoly in the whole country had intrenched itself in that body and had constructed barriers to prevent any tariff bill from passing which did not contain provisions to give it the same power to tax the people that the McKinley tariff had given, though in a different form. Of course this could be done only by having a certain number of Democratic votes—say four or five. The Republicans *en masse* would vote against any bill the Democrats might pass. It was their business to do so. Forty-three votes were needed to pass a bill. There were a few votes on the dividing line between Democracy and Populism which could not be counted upon with certainty. The situation was such that a small group of speculators, if there were any such in the body belonging to the Democratic party, could block all movement and prevent the passage of any bill. It happened that there were three or four men answering this description. One of them was detected in a sugar speculation. The others were believed to be no whit better, although they have not been found out. It was an ominous circumstance, also, that the particular clause of the bill which caused all the trouble and all the scandal was drawn by the secretary of the treasury, and that all his influence, so far as he used any, was employed for its retention.

The result was delay and exasperation on the part of the business community, disgust immeasurable on the part of decent people, and finally a surrender to the Sugar Trust. It was an unavoidable surrender. It involved no disgrace upon those who passed under the yoke. Like the Roman legions, they had done all that they could. Nevertheless the party had to take the consequences. It is this conjunction of circumstances that has taken the heart out of the Democratic party for the time being. It is not a bad thing that it is so. Another reform besides reform of the tariff must be undertaken if the Democrats are to recover their lost ground. The party must purge itself of its Sugar Trust element with all possible speed. It does not follow from the Maine election that we are going back to the McKinley tariff or anything resembling that. The Republicans are not likely to forget the lessons they learned in 1890 and 1892. If they get into power again, they will find plenty of reasons to give the tariff fanatics the cold shoulder.

THE DEBS CASE.

THE trial of the charges of contempt of court against Debs and others, which is now proceeding at Chicago, will bring up some very important questions for adjudication. These questions are, of course, of primary interest to the legal profession, but an examination of what is really involved in the case will satisfy every intelligent citizen who cares for the sound and healthy development of his country's institutions that the legal questions are relatively insignificant. The issue really lies, as the lawyers say, in a nutshell, and it can be stated so simply that every one can grasp it. It is briefly the determination of the question whether courts shall assume the function of inflicting summary punishment without jury trial for acts punishable by ordinary criminal proceeding.

There is no doubt of the power of a court to punish summarily those who disobey its orders. It has been deemed impossible for courts to maintain a necessary respect for their processes without this power. That it may be effectively exercised, the judge before whom the contempt is committed is allowed to inflict punishment according to his discretion, and without stay or appeal. The person charged with contempt has a right to be heard, but he must appear in person and cannot demand a jury or insist upon the aid of counsel. This power probably originated in the necessity for preserving order in the court-room, and, since attorneys are looked upon as officers of the court, it is natural and proper that they at least should be subject to strict discipline. Yet it is evident that the remedy is of a nature contrary to the free spirit of English jurisprudence. It is arbitrary and despotic. However, as English judges have generally been animated with the spirit of liberty, they have rarely abused this power. It has been enough that it existed to accomplish the purpose of its existence. To the honor of the courts, they have very cautiously extended the use of the remedy by injunction as applied to acts committed outside of court. The rule that equitable remedies will not be granted so long as a remedy at law exists, is still an established rule; but it cannot long be maintained if such injunctions are to be granted as those recently issued from the United States courts.

We cannot, within our space, trace the steps by which the scope of injunctions has been recently extended. A writer in the Albany *Law Journal* of September 1 has pointed out these steps, and ultimately the whole matter will doubtless be reviewed by the United States Supreme Court. Suffice it to say that an "omnibus bill" was filed last July at Chicago to prevent interference with twenty-three great systems of railway, and an injunction was issued not only against a number of persons named, but also against the members of the American Railway Union to the number of thousands, and "all other persons whomsoever." No satisfactory precedent exists for injunctions of such wide scope as this. If we may trust a newspaper report of Judge Woods's language, he took the ground that his injunction was not necessary to prevent interference with the mails, that being a crime for which arrest and indictment was provided. It was more necessary to make the order to prevent interference with interstate commerce; but the true reason, and the only one "for issuing an order at all, was that it was a means of meeting the present emergency, for the process of arrest and indictment was slow."

Whether Judge Woods used these words or not, they describe the situa-

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tion correctly. There was an adequate remedy at law, and if it was slow it was the fault of the officers of the law. But it was not slow when the highest magistrate in the land swept aside the incompetent and traitorous gang of local bailiffs, and put an end to rioting with even less than a "whiff of grape-shot" by the prompt discharge of his constitutional duty. The remedy at law, for such it may properly be called (the troops of the United States being really peace officers), was quick and it was adequate. It may be doubted whether the injunctions were not wholly superfluous.

But granting that, it may be said, were they not at least harmless? We apprehend not. Our readers do not require to be told that we regarded the aims of the strikers at Chicago as hopeless and their methods as wicked and criminal. We do not forget, however, that these men are our fellow-citizens, or impute to them as a body any exceptional depravity. It is in the highest degree important that the very poorest member of the community should possess unshaken confidence in the integrity of our judges and the impartiality of the administration of justice. We fear that many of the common people, especially in the Western States, entertain the belief that the courts have allied themselves with the great corporate interests of the country, and it is eminently desirable that this belief should have no sound basis. It is the duty of the courts to defend rights of property, and upon this account they incur a certain degree of unpopularity with those who have few such rights to defend. But every effort should be made to escape this odium by exhibiting the strictest impartiality, and there is reason for contending that this caution has been disregarded in the recent injunctions. Upon their face they indicate the purpose of causing the arrest and punishment of citizens, without trial by jury, for offences for which criminal jurisprudence provides that right. If there is no other way of repressing crime except by treating it as contempt of court, our jurisprudence must be reconstituted upon models that have more likeness to those which prevail under despotic governments.

MORE POLICE CORRUPTION.

MR. GOFF made it very plain at the first session of the resumed Senate inquiry that he had by no means exhausted the field of police incompetence and depravity. Indeed, the depths which he sounded on Monday were a little lower than any that he had touched heretofore. He began with that branch of the service which Superintendent Byrnes singled out in his recent letter to the Police Board as the one especially entitled to commendation, the Detective Bureau. Mr. Byrnes said of this bureau that since its reorganization in 1880 it has "reached such a high standard of efficiency and discipline as has not been equalled by any other detective bureau in the world." Yet Mr. Goff shows by the mouth of one of the chief officials of that bureau that he is either totally ignorant of the law governing his conduct in a most important branch of his duty, or wilfully guilty of systematic violation of the law.

The way in which Mr. Goff brought out this fact was a striking illustration of his skill in such matters. He showed that it is customary for the Police Department to send out postal-cards to pawnbrokers describing stolen property, and pledging on behalf of the owners of such property payment of the money which may have been advanced on it to the thieves who have brought it to the pawn-shops; that detectives habitually advise persons whose property has been stolen to pay the money which has been advanced on it, and that detectives not infrequently receive a share of the money thus paid over. Sergeant Hanley, who admits these things, and admits also that in one case he received $17 for his services, confesses that he had often heard judges in the Court of General Sessions declare that stolen property belongs to the owner and may be recovered wherever found, but denies that he knows that a detective has the right to go into any pawnshop in the city, seize stolen property which is identified by the owner, and pass it over to the latter without charge. This is an extraordinary state of mind for an official of the best detective bureau in the world to manifest. The picture which he presents of the method pursued by that bureau makes it an ally with the thieves and pawnbrokers against the citizen whose property has been stolen. There is no other interpretation to be put upon Sergeant Hanley's testimony.

After Sergeant Hanley came another witness whose testimony was scarcely less startling, though it was not in a new field. Another green-goods operator was produced who supplemented the testimony of the witness Appo, given several weeks ago, in regard to the payments made to the police for the protection of the operators of this swindle. Applegate, the latest witness, gave a very straightforward and circumstantial account of the way the green-goods business had been carried on in two police precincts presided over by Capt. Meakim, saying that when the captain was transferred from a down-town precinct to one in Harlem, the business was transferred with him, and was carried on without molestation in both localities because of the payment of $50 a month to the captain. He sustained his testimony with much circumstantial evidence, and Mr. Goff sustained it with some printed circulars, and used these with much dramatic effect to convict the printer of them of perjury when he was put upon the stand. Incidentally, evidence was adduced to show that the chief green-goods operator, McNally, was on very friendly terms with Sergeant Hanley of the Detective Bureau.

Taken altogether, Monday's evidence is of the first importance, perhaps of greater importance than any that has preceded it. It shows that there is no branch of the police service that is not thoroughly rotten, and strengthens the already strong conviction that there is no radical remedy for that service save its complete abolition and reconstruction on new lines. Mayor Gilroy's complacent observations, which he put forth with such impudent assurance on the following morning, were not well timed. He should have waited till he had read Mr. Goff's new testimony before he took the position that, in removing certain police captains after Mr. Goff had proved their guilt, the police commissioners have vindicated themselves and exonerated Tammany Hall. Now he will see that the police commissioners have still further work to do before the vindication will be complete, and that by the time they shall have succeeded in getting all the corrupt men out of the Police Department, there will be a very small force of officials left therein.

It is within the bounds of probability also that the police commissioners themselves may be on trial before the inquiry is ended, if it can be maintained by anybody that they have not been on trial since the beginning of the inquiry. Whose system is it that is found to be so saturated with corruption? Who has been administering the affairs of the Police Department for the past quarter of a century? Tammany men, either avowed or disguised. Nearly all of them have been appointed by Tammany mayors. All this corruption has been in existence under their noses in their own department, and they never suspected it until Mr. Goff showed it to them. What a charming lot of innocents they have been! And what a charming innocent the mayor is when he comes before the public and points with pride to their virtue, Tammany's virtue, in getting rid of the blackmailers, after they have been exposed! "We never allow thieves and blackmailers to stay in office after they have been shown up!" This is the Tammany platform upon which the Tammany mayor proposes to go before the people in the coming election.

HELMHOLTZ.

DR. HERMANN HELMHOLTZ, as his contemporaries have called him, the acknowledged

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and worshipped head of the scientific guild, is gone. He was born on August 31, 1821, at Potsdam, where his father was professor of the gymnasium. His mother's maiden name was Caroline Penn; she came of a branch of that family settled in Germany since the religious troubles in England. From childhood Hermann had a passion for science; but the nineteenth century came near missing this great light, for the circumstances of the family were such that no road to science was open to him except that of studying medicine in the Military Institute of Berlin He took his degree of M.D. in 1842, and his inaugural dissertation, the only Latin publication of his life, related to the nervous systems of invertebrate animals. He was at once attached to the service of charity, and began without delay to study putrefaction, upon which in 1843 he published a memoir maintaining its purely chemical nature—an opinion subsequently surrendered. He soon returned to Potsdam a surgeon in the army. In 1845 he was employed with good reason to write articles on animal heat in a medical encyclopædia of high character, and in the yearly report upon the progress of physics. The same year he printed an original investigation of the waste of substance of a muscle in action.

After that, for about two years, he produced nothing. It was one of those periods of seeming idleness to which the most productive geniuses are subject, and which afford mediocrity matter for carping. Other young scientists filled the journals of 1846 with the records of their industry, but not one syllable came from Helmholtz. He was not heard from until 1847, and not till July 23, when he read a paper before the Physical Society of Berlin. This paper was entitled "The Conservation of Force." In the judgment of many of those who have examined the matter, it was the epoch-making work from which alone the greatest scientific discovery that man has ever made must date. Certainly it was the argument which produced the intense conviction with which the world has held that doctrine ever since. It is fair to say that other excellent critics, and Helmholtz himself among them, award the merit of the first enunciation of the great law to Robert Mayer, who, in 1842, had published a paper which attracted no attention whatever, and of which Helmholtz in 1847 was as little aware as the rest of the world. But, in any case, there is no doubt that Helmholtz was the first to conceive the proposition from the point of view which made it so attractive to all accurate thinkers and so wonderfully fecund in new truth.

According to his statement, nothing exists in the outer world but matter. Matter *in itself* (*an sich*) is capable of no alteration but motion in space, and these motions are modified only by fixed attractions and repulsions, and this is true everywhere, even in the actions of animals and men. It was an amazingly bold assertion, utterly opposed to almost every kind of philosophy, certainly to Kantian and all post-Kantian idealism, as well as to the nominalistic idealism of the English school, which such writers as Ernst Mach have taken up. But the implicit faith with which it has been received is a singular psychological phenomenon, for the theory that all human actions are subjected to a law having no teleological character, when we know (or seem to know) that our actions are adjusted to purposes, has obvious difficulties; and the experimental evidence of the correctness of the law as applied to animal physiology is very slender. Indeed, some of the most careful researches (as those of Fick and Wislicenus) have led to results directly opposed to it. Yet the physiologists, one and all—the judicious Michael Foster, for example—simply treat those results as absurd. In this aspect Helmholtz's great doctrine appears as the pet *petitio principii* of our time. Its truth was unquestionable, in the only sense in which anything based on induction can rationally be admitted as true, namely, its *close approximation* to exactitude. Nobody can deny that it is at once the crown and the key of physical science. In that memoir, by the way, Helmholtz first displayed his facility in applying the calculus to unaccustomed problems—a facility very surprising in a man of twenty-six whose studies had been supposed to lie in the direction of anatomy and physiology. Surely, in the company at that memorable meeting of the Physical Society there must have been some who were able to discern that they were in the presence of one of the most stupendous intellects that the human race had yet produced.

Of course, a reward was due from organized humanity to the man who had thus lifted man's mind to a higher vantage ground. And this reward came, for the next year he was created no less than assistant in the Anatomical Museum of Berlin. He now began to occupy himself with the physiology of hearing. In 1849 he was appointed supplementary (or extraordinary) professor of physiology in the University of Königsberg (without salary), and in 1850, on July 19, he communicated to the Physical Society of Berlin an elaborate memoir breaking ground in the interesting field of the measurement of the duration of nerve-actions. In 1851 he invented the ophthalmoscope, for which many and many a human being has owed him his eyesight. This year he began an original study of electrodynamics. In 1852 he was promoted to a regular chair in the university. His discourse upon his installation dealt with peripheral sensations in general, especially those of sight and hearing. It was a comparison of the relation existing between the vibrations that excite a given sense, and those existing between the sensations themselves. We remark that while the memoir on the Conservation of Force fairly bristled with repetitions of the philosophical phrase *an sich*, "in itself," it is in this discourse carefully avoided. It would seem that something must have happened in the interval which made Helmholtz dread "*an sich*" as a burnt child does fire. In this paper, such ingenuity is used to avoid it that but once does it slip in, and then in a negative phrase. But since the idea was there, we cannot praise Helmholtz for not giving it its proper dress.

In giving the substance of his lecture, we need not imitate his circumlocutions to avoid this natural phrase. His point was this: vibration-systems essentially different give rise to precisely the same color-sensations. There are three fundamental color-sensations, which, being mingled in different amounts, give rise to all others; but there is nothing corresponding to this tri-dimensionality in the vibrations themselves. On the contrary, the sensations of a color-blind person for whom one of the three fundamental sensations is non-existent, much better correspond with the facts in themselves. Sounds, on the whole, correspond more accurately to the vibrations. But, to the ear, the difference between one rate of vibration and another is hardly perceptible until two different sounds are compared. If a melody is transposed to another key, the effect is nearly the same; but a painter who should transpose red to yellow, yellow to green, green to blue, and blue to violet, would make a nightmare of his painting. These are certainly striking facts; but still more interesting is it to note what lesson it was that this typical nineteenth-century understanding drew from them. Other minds as clear as his might have read here the incommensurability between mind and matter, and have found a refutation of materialism in the circumstance that mind here acts as matter could not do. But the conclusion of Helmholtz is that the sense-qualities distinguish the things in themselves about as well and about as arbitrarily as the names Henry, Charles, and John parcel out human kind.

Besides this "Habilitationsvortrag," a "Habilitationsschrift" was expected from the new professor, and this last set forth his theory of the mixture of colors. It was, at bottom, the doctrine of Dr. Thomas Young; and only the careful comparison with observation, and the application of it to explain effects of mixing pigments and the like, were new. In 1854 he attended the meeting of the British Association at Hull, and there read a fuller account of his theory of colors, which no doubt induced Maxwell to take up this study, who soon made it even more lucid and beautiful than Helmholtz had done. In 1855 he became professor of physiology at Bonn. In 1856 he began the publication of his great treatise on physiological optics, which was not completed till ten years later. On May 22 of the same year, he announced to the Berlin Academy his discovery of combinational tones, which are musical sounds resulting from the interferences of the vibrations making two other sounds.

In 1858 he became professor in Heidelberg, at that time the ultimate goal of a German professor's ambition; and in the same year he astonished the mathematical world by his great memoir on eddies, or vortices, a matter of fundamental importance in hydrodynamics. It was a very great and fruitful idea which he there advanced, and which he wonderfully developed. Much has already come from it, but its full harvest yet remains to be gathered in. No mathematician will dispute that this was a work only second in importance to the cataclysmic essay on the Conservation of Force. During the next two years Helmholtz's acoustical researches were very prolific, and at the same time he published remarkable papers upon color-blindness and upon the contrasts of colors. In 1860, on April 12, he read to the Vienna Academy a paper giving measurements by his pupil, Von Pietrowski, of the viscosity of fluids, with a mathematical discussion by himself. Although the subject was not quite new, Stokes's masterly work dating from 1851, still Maxwell's researches were not yet begun, and this memoir constituted another important contribution to hydrodynamics and to the general conception of matter. Helmholtz himself very soon began to apply these ideas in acoustics.

We next find him engaged upon the difficult problem of the horopter and the motions of the eye. One of the next subjects to engage his attention was the musical note which is emitted from a strongly contracted muscle. In 1862 appeared his great work on Sensations of Sound and the theory of music, and with it the main work of his life was accomplished. Since that time he has indeed produced enough to make another man famous; it is little only in comparison with his earlier achievements. He has written, for example, papers upon the facts underlying geometry which were sub-

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stantially anticipated by Riemann's great work, with which Helmholtz would seem not to have been acquainted. To produce independently that which was the proudest laurel of one of the most original mathematicians of the ages was a great feat, but it was needless. There were also a series of memoirs in which Helmholtz discusses all the principal systems of formulæ which have been proposed by different physicists as laws of electrodynamics. He gave the first mathematical explanation of the formation of ordinary waves upon water —an explanation which not only enables us to see why certain forms of waves which might exist are not produced in nature, but also throws much light on other subjects. In 1871, he was appointed professor of physics, no longer of physiology, in the University of Berlin. Twenty years later he was made president and director of the Physikalisch-Technische Reichsanstalt, a foundation under the control of the Imperial Department of the Interior, for the experimental furthering of exact natural inquiry and the technics of precision.

Not the slightest allusion to any moral or religious problem ever dropped from the pen of Helmholtz. Though no reference to Hegel or Hegelianism appears in his pages, he more than any other namable person caused the downfall of that kind of speculation in Germany, and brought in the present admiration for the English style of philosophizing which his own so much resembled. The temper of the man was admirable. He never indulged in one of those reclamations of priority into which scientific vanity is sure to be betrayed, but several times published notes to show that his own results were not so new as he and the scientific world had believed them to be. He did much to bring into notice the works of other physicists, among them the Americans Rowland and Rood (his visit last year to this country is freshly remembered). He found himself several times engaged in controversies with redoubtable antagonists, Clausius, Bertrand, perhaps we may so reckon Land. In every case he so conducted himself as to bespeak an imperious desire to find out the truth and to publish it; and every approach to personality was avoided or flung away from him as a pestilential infection. The world owes much to the intellectual clearness and integrity of Hermann Helmholtz, M.D.

VOX POPULI IN SWITZERLAND.

BERN, July, 1894.

To outward appearance, Switzerland is an atoll in the surging ocean of European politics. Here the increasing strain which has come upon the representative institutions of other countries is hardly felt. Here the Legislature is free from party organization, the business of the country is well and promptly done, the people are content with their representatives. Here, also, we are paradoxically assured, such statutes as do not commend themselves to the popular will may be revised by the Referendum; and reforms ignored by the Federal Assembly may be framed and enacted through the Initiative. These two ingenious applications of pure democracy to large communities are urged upon Americans because so successful in Switzerland. There has long lain in my mind a suspicion of a device which assumes to relieve men from the results of their failure to choose representatives who really represent them; and this incredulity has not been removed by staying in Switzerland and looking into the practical working of the much-lauded system. Fortunately there is a body of material on the subject: besides the messages sent in by the Executive Council after each popular vote, there is an official report of 1892 summarizing the statistics since 1848; and I am much indebted to several Swiss statesmen and publicists for frank and suggestive discussion.

No criticism of the referendum can be worth while which does not take account of the difference of political conditions in the United States and in Switzerland. In size, population, and wealth the latter country is very like an American State, say Massachusetts; the six hundred and eighty thousand voters are distributed in a compact land, with excellent election machinery. The cantons, unlike the commonwealths in America, are steadily losing ground to the federal Government, and the Swiss Senate, the Council of States, has less power and prestige than the elective National Council. The legislative practice of the two countries is also different: few bills are presented to the federal Assembly, and very few are enacted, so that in 1891 but fourteen general laws were put upon the statute-book. The Executive Council, though without a veto, has an important part in legislation: it legislates for itself in many matters of detail; and on larger affairs prepares and submits bills which the Assembly frequently enacts without change. This preparation of legislative material by the executive is a tradition in the cantons as well as in the Swiss union. The Diet took this function on itself under the old Confederation, and, indeed, the word "referendum" was originally applied to the process of referring measures back from the Diet to the cantons; it was too often a political "how-not-to-do-it." The present referendum is, therefore, practically a check both on the Executive and the Legislature, and can easily be invoked on a considerable proportion of all general statutes. To apply it to acts which have already run the gauntlet of an executive veto, and have found a place in the obese statute-book of an American commonwealth, is a different matter. Nor is it so easy in Switzerland to crystallize the opinion of the Assembly into concrete measures, since the lively sectional and religious rivalries of the country are not expressed in well-organized parties. Conventions and caucuses with us take the place which the initiative is meant to fill in Switzerland. So different are all the conditions in the two countries that the success of the referendum in the one does not at all imply that it would work well in the other; while if the referendum has disappointed its friends in Switzerland, where it harmonizes with other institutions, it is not likely to succeed in the United States. And whatever might be done in the States, a national referendum would nullify the Senate, and hence be a complete change in the American system of government and probably a national misfortune.

A judgment of the referendum must be based on the working of the electoral machinery, on the interest shown by the voters, and on the popular discrimination between good and bad measures. The process of invoking and voting on a referendum is simple and easily worked, if not used too often. Although the Assembly has, in urgent cases, the constitutional right to set a resolution in force at once, it always allows from three to eight months' delay so as to permit the opponents of a measure to lodge their protests against it. Voluntary committees take charge of the movement, and, if a law is unpopular, little difficulty is found in getting together the necessary thirty thousand or fifty thousand signatures. Only thrice has the effort failed when made. When, as in 1882, the signatures run up to 180,000, the labor is severe, for every signature is examined by the national executive to see whether it is attested as the sign manual of a voter; sometimes, in an interested canton, as many as 70 per cent. of the voters have signed the demand. The system undoubtedly leads to public discussion: newspapers criticise; addresses and counter addresses are issued; cantonal councils publicly advise voters; and of late the federal Assembly sends out manifestoes against pending initiatives. The federal Executive Council distributes to the cantons enough copies of the proposed measure, so that one may be given to each voter. The count of the votes is made by the Executive Council as a returning-board. Inasmuch as the Swiss are unfamiliar with election frauds, and there has been but one very close vote in the national referenda, the count is not difficult, but there are always irregularities, especially where more than one question is presented to the voters at the same time.

What is the effect of the popular votes, thus carried out? The following table, based on official documents, shows the results for the twenty years, 1875–1894:

	Passed.	Rejected.	Total.
(*a.*) Constitutional amendments proposed by the Assembly (referendum obligatory)	1	6	7
(*b.*) Constitutional amendments proposed by popular initiative (50,000 signatures)	2	1	*4
(*c.*) Laws passed by the Assembly (referendum demanded by 30,000).	14	6	20
	17	13	31

* One measure still pending.

Making allowances for cases where more than one question has been submitted at the same time, there have been twenty-four popular votes in twenty years. In addition, most of the cantons have their own local referenda; in Zurich, for example, in these twenty years, more than one hundred other questions have been placed before the sovereign people. These numbers are large in themselves, but surprising in proportion to the total legislation. Out of 158 general acts passed by the federal Assembly from 1874 to 1892, 27 were subjected to the referendum; that is, about one-sixth are reviewed and about one-tenth are reversed. Constitutional amendments usually get through sooner or later, but more than two-thirds of the statutes attacked are annulled. To apply the system on such a scale in any State of our Union is plainly impossible; thirty-nine-fortieths of the statute-book must still rest, as now, on the character of the legislators.

Nevertheless it may be worth while to excise the other fortieth, if experience shows that the people are more interested and wiser than their representatives, when a question is put plainly and simply before them. I must own to disappointment over the use made by the Swiss of their envied opportunity. On the twenty referenda between 1879 and 1891 the average vote in proportion to the voters was but 58.5 per cent.; in only one case did it reach 67 per cent.; and in one case—the patent law of 1887—it fell to about 40 per cent. in the Confederation, and to 9 per cent. in

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Canton Schwyz. On the serious and dangerous question of recognizing the right to employment, this present year, only about 56 per cent. participated. In Zurich there is a compulsory voting law, of which the curious result is that on both national and cantonal referenda many thousands of blank ballots are cast. The result of the small vote is that laws, duly considered by the national legislature and passed by considerable majorities, are often reversed by a minority of the voters. The most probable reason for this apathy, is that there are too many elections—in some cantons as many as fifteen a year. Whatever the cause, Swiss voters are less interested in referenda than Swiss legislators in framing bills.

Of the comparative wisdom of the representatives and their constituents it is difficult for a stranger to judge. The general tendency of the referendum is to rebuke the Assembly; more than half the questions submitted are lost on popular vote, and more than half of all the ballots cast have been adverse. Certain cantons, notably Uri and Appenzell (Inner Rhode), are almost always against the proposition, without much reference to its purport. The records of the Assembly rarely show test votes on any question, but there is a remarkable divergence between the temper or judgment of that body and of the people. The constitutional amendment of 1893 on the slaughtering of animals commanded less than a third of the members of either house, but was carried on popular vote by about three to two. The amendment of 1894 on the practice of professions had every vote in its favor in the Council of States, but was lost in referendum. An eminent publicist, member of the Assembly and an upholder of the referendum, explains this divergence by the public spirit of the members, who vote according to their convictions and not in subservience to their constituents. If this be true, it is an indictment of the system; if the people are wiser than their representatives on questions of legislation, the latter ought to bend beforehand, without waiting for the pressure of the referendum. So far as I can judge, public opinion on such matters is so uncertain that the members cannot understand or predict it.

On the recent proposition to assert the right of every Swiss to employment, only 2 members out of 110 voted for it; but out of doors it received 75,000 votes against 308,000. Certainly the referendum is especially fatal on complicated questions of commerce and finance, the least suited to such a system. It was only on the third attempt that a bank-note system could be arranged. Another interesting example is the bill for the purchase of the Swiss Central Railroad. The Executive Council in May, 1890, desired to negotiate on the subject, and the Assembly passed a resolution granting the necessary authority. No referendum was laid against the resolution, and the Council, believing that the principle was accepted, in March, 1891 made a provisional contract for the purchase. The law ratifying this contract was duly passed, but 92,000 signatures were lodged against it, and it was defeated by a majority of 140,000. This might be accepted as a popular judgment against State railways; but, in fact, it seems to be only a protest against the terms of the contract, and it is expected that the work will soon be all done over again. In the cantons it is even worse: I am informed that in some of them new money bills are almost invariably rejected on referendum, and humiliating devices have to be used in order to get the funds necessary for the support of the Government. Most impartial observers who examine the list of bills lost in the national referendum will be inclined to think the judgment of the Assembly better and more consistent than that of the people.

To the Anglo Saxon mind, accustomed to distinguish between laws of detail and fundamental laws, which are independent of temporary waves of public feeling, the referendum seems confusing. Is it necessary to set in motion all the machinery of a popular election to settle such questions as sometimes come before the Swiss people? In 1884, when General Frey, now President of the Confederation, was minister in Washington, the Executive Council asked that his allowance be raised from fifty thousand francs to sixty thousand francs a year. The Assembly, though not at that time given to prodigality, adopted the necessary vote, in the form submitted by the Executive Council. Ninety-three thousand protests were lodged, and the act was reversed in referendum by 40,000 majority. Even admitting the superiority of the judgment of the people over that of the minister, the Executive Council, and the Assembly, it does not seem worth while to spend so much public energy on a matter of so little moment. The initiative deals less with small questions, but it acts as a standing constitutional convention to frame amendments. Thus in 1893 a clause possibly directed against cruelty to animals, and certainly intended to annoy the Jews, was by the participation of less than half the voters solemnly added to the constitution. In the United States we have already the good effects of the referendum so far as it deals with changes of the constitutions, the permanent and superior part of our law; perhaps that is as far as it really aids the people to express their will in consistent legislation.

In the last two years three amendments have been introduced by initiative which show that the referendum may become a powerful socialistic weapon. The slaughtering amendment was in effect directed against a class, and was successful; the amendment assuring employment was in the interest of a class, and was lost; the pending amendment for a distribution of money to the cantons is directed by poor cantons against rich ones. Against all these propositions the Assembly has set itself steadfastly. "I am a friend of the referendum," says an eminent member of the Executive Council, "but I do not like the initiative." The experience of Switzerland seems to show four things: that the Swiss voters are not deeply interested in the referendum; that the referendum is as likely to kill good as bad measures; that the initiative is more likely to suggest bad measures than good; that the referendum leads straight to the initiative. The referendum in the United States would therefore probably be an attempt to govern great communities by permanent town meeting.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

THE SEINE, THE MEUSE, AND THE MOSELLE.—II.

BERNCASTEL-AM-MOSEL, August 14, 1894.

THE upper Meuse, above its passage through the Ardennes to Commercy near its head, is, unlike the Moselle, an enfeebled river. Its valley exhibits meandering curves almost as strong as those of the Seine and the Moselle, but the river fails to fit the curves of the valley. It twists and turns on its flood-plain, now touching one part, now another part of its valley sides, but not succeeding at all in boldly swinging around the valley curves. About Commercy, it may almost be said to wriggle across its flood-plain, so distinctly is its minutely tortuous course out of accord with the sweeping curves of its valley. Clearly, when the valley was formed, the river that cut it had a larger volume than the present Meuse; for while small rivers may truly enough make wide valleys if time is allowed them, they can never in a short or long time cut valleys with systematic curves of large pattern such as are appropriate to large rivers. Moreover, the dwindling volume of the Meuse is shown about Commercy and further down stream by the manner in which the flood-plain appears to overlap the lower slope of the valley sides, just as if the valley were slowly filling up with the silt that the river cannot carry away. When the national road shortens its distance by climbing over the shoulders of the spurs around which the valley winds, you may see the rich green of the level river plain broadly stretching from slope to slope; the tortuous little Meuse winding its crooked way across the fields; the abundant herds of cattle on the rich pastures; the canal and the railway running in long tangents between occasional curves near one side of the plain or the other; the villages on the valley slopes just above the wet meadows. Descending to cross the plain, its margin seems to be laid upon the valley slopes, which have every appearance of descending to greater depths than are now visible; the little Meuse has only a shallow channel, and makes no sign of entrenching its course in the plain; a very moderate flood would overflow the meadows. Here, then, is a river that is filling its valley, not deepening it; aggrading its valley, not degrading it; and nothing can be more characteristic of an enfeebled river than such behavior. A large river may cut down its valley to a very gentle grade. A smaller river needs a steeper grade on its way to the sea. If the grade is too faint for its needs, it will lay down some of its burden and build up a grade to suit itself, and thus a rising and steepening flood-plain will be formed along and across its valley floor. The feeble Meuse about Commercy and Sedan has every appearance of behaving in this way; its contrast with the robust Seine and the vigorous Moselle is complete. The middle river has in some way been weakened, while its neighbors on either side have been invigorated.

Climatic change cannot be appealed to in explanation of the lessened volume of the Meuse; for in that case its neighbors should have dwindled also. A clue to the puzzle on the side of the Moselle was given as long ago as 1829, when a French geologist, Boblaye, noted that pebbles like those now carried by the Moselle, and derived from the Vosges Mountains, were to be found in the valley of the Meuse below Commercy, or more accurately below Pagny-sur-Meuse, a village a few miles above Commercy. Other writers have since studied these pebbles, and it is now well understood that the Moselle above Toul once ran into the Meuse. On the side of the Seine I have not yet had opportunity of search in scientific literature to learn whether the rearrangements there have hitherto been described; but study on the French maps at home had convinced me that the Aire, now belonging to the Seine system, once belonged to the Meuse, and a sight of it on the ground strongly confirmed my belief. In a few years we may hope to see the whole question fully treated in a volume on the Rivers of France now in preparation by Col. de la Noë of the

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geographical service of the French army, and M. Emm. de Margerie, the most active and successful students of physical geography in Paris. It was through the kindness of these gentlemen that I saw while in Paris a copy of the exquisite model of the upper Moselle, constructed under the direction of the Army Engineers, a partial duplicate of which was at the Chicago exhibition last year—now, I am glad to say, remaining with us as a gift to the geographical laboratory at Harvard—and it was at their suggestion that the upper Meuse was included in my summer's excursion.

What interests me particularly in the loss of the side branches of the Meuse is the geographical evidence of the fact. It is not necessary to appeal to pebbles from the Vosges, although, of course, they are competent witnesses. The forms of the valleys at the points of change are self-declaratory, and deserve to be minutely studied as types of the geographical features characterizing rearranged drainage. Not only is each case distinct in itself, but the essential features of rearrangement are identical in the two cases, and thus one confirms the other. In order to state them briefly, let us agree to call the Meurthe-Moselle the main stream of the eastern system; this corresponds with the Aisne-Oise-Seine of the western system. The Moselle above Toul was once an important branch of the Meuse; this may be called the Moselle-Pagny, after the name of the village now standing at the former junction of the Moselle and the Meuse. The Aire above Grandpré was another important branch of the Meuse, entering it just below Sedan by a valley now followed by the Bar; its former course may, therefore, be called the Aire-Bar. Now, in both cases, the change from the former to the present courses was effected by the headward growth of branches of the Muerthe-Moselle or of the Aisne-Oise-Seine; these branches growing so far as to tap the former affluents of the Meuse, and, by offering them outlets at a lower level, tempt them to desert the Meuse and go to the sea by their present courses. The tapping branch of the Meurthe-Moselle grew southward from the village of Pompey (the present junction of the Meurthe and the Moselle) as far as Toul, and there diverted the Moselle-Pagny; consequently there remains from Toul to Pagny-sur-Meuse the abandoned meandering valley of a considerable river, now occupied by a very small stream, fed from the enclosing hills. The tapping branch of the Aisne-Oise-Seine grew eastward at Grandpré (near the present junction of the Aisne and the Aire) as far as the village of St. Juvin, and there diverted the Aire-Bar; consequently there remains from St. Juvin to Sedan again the abandoned meandering valley of a considerable river, now occupied by a very small stream, the Bar, fed from the enclosing hills. Many other minute features might be mentioned, every one of which occurs in both of these examples, and every one of which fits perfectly into the ideal scheme of river adjustments.

Although the features are small, they are extremely significant. They are to physical geography what minute anatomy is to biology, neglected heretofore, but essential now in the modern developments of science. Their comprehension adds wonderfully to the enjoyment of the landscape, not only by explaining it, but by bringing distinctly into notice a variety of minor forms that might otherwise easily escape the eye. Moreover, the changes that these little features indicate are not only of local interest, close about the place of their occurrence; they are intimately associated with the behavior of the diminished Meuse and the invigorated Seine and Moselle, hundreds of miles away. The abandoned meandering valleys, formerly occupied by the Moselle Pagny and the Aire-Bar, now afford passage to important canals on easy grades, thus connecting the facts of river history with the opportunities of human development. The former beds of the diverted rivers supply gravel for the roads of their district, and thus associate the smaller facts of to-day with greater facts of prehistoric times. The flood-plained valley of the upper Meuse is a great pasture-farm.

I look to see these old abandoned valleys and others herein named minutely studied and illustrated, and serving as the subjects for theses based on local investigation by the young geographers of the coming century. We have had enough of learning how many branches a river has; it is time to learn why one river has more than another; why the upper Meuse runs with hardly more than a branchless stem between the broad-spread branches of the Moselle and the Seine. This is a little contribution to that history. W. M. D.

Correspondence.

THE FENTON CASE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I missed your number of August 23, containing "Fair Play's" letter about the Fenton case.

At the suggestion of a correspondent who has been kind enough himself to furnish me with some information, I have written to the Record Office in England to see whether Capt. Fenton's petition for a pension as a Loyalist is on file there, and, if it is, whether it throws any light on the matter.

In the meantime let me assure "Fair Play" that I am unconscious of any bias. I am quite willing to cancel the passage in my history if Mme. de Riedesel's statement can be disproved. He does not charge me with misquoting Dr. Green, and I could not transfer the whole contents of Dr. Green's article to your columns. —Yours faithfully, Goldwin Smith.

Toronto, September 7, 1894.

Notes.

Mr. Henry C. Lea has completed his work on 'Confession and Absolution,' and, as the revision of it is well under way, it cannot be long in going to the printer.

Mr. W. J. Linton will publish through the Scribners his reminiscences, 'Threescore Years and Ten' (1820-1890).

The 'Century Dictionary' will shortly be supplemented by 'The Century Cyclopædia of Names,' edited likewise by Benjamin E. Smith. Its field embraces history, biography, mythology, geography, along with ethnology, archæology, art, fiction, etc.

Roberts Bros. have nearly ready the first two volumes of a new edition of Molière's Dramatic Works translated by Miss Katharine Prescott Wormeley.

J. B. Lippincott Co., who have just issued Thiers's 'History of the Consulate,' in twelve volumes, propose to make a uniform edition in five monthly volumes, illustrated, of the same author's 'History of the French Revolution.'

Henry Holt & Co. are about to make a separate work of the historical and critical portions of Henry S. Pancoast's meritorious 'Representative English Literature,' with some rewriting and expansion.

A posthumous novel by the late dramatist, Steele Mackaye, entitled 'Father Ambrose: The Revelations of May 3, '68,' is in the press of Deshler Welch.

A new book by Max O'Rell (Paul Blouët), 'John Bull & Co.: The Great Colonial Branches of the Firm,' includes this country in the scope of its observations. It will be published by Charles L. Webster & Co.

Dodd, Mead & Co. will be, in connection with T. Fisher Unwin, the American publishers of G. H. Radford's 'Shylock and Others,' of which we lately made a brief approving mention.

'Meditations in Motley,' essays by Walter Blackburn Harte, is announced by the *Arena* Publishing Co., Boston.

Mr. Elkin Mathews parts company with his associate, Mr. Lane, at Michaelmas, but will still continue to publish at the well-known premises on Vigo Street, London. He also forsakes the emblem of the "Bodley Head."

'Anne of Geierstein' and 'Count Robert of Paris' are the twenty-third and twenty-fourth volumes respectively of the Dryburgh Waverley (Macmillan), with the customary handsome letter-press and uninspired illustrations. Another issue will complete the series.

Our recent elaborate notice of Morris and Magnússon's translation of the 'Heimskringla' dispenses us from reviewing the second volume, which has just been issued by Bernard Quaritch as the fourth in the handsome series of volumes of the "Saga Library." Nor need we do more than mention the seventh edition of Sweet's 'Anglo-Saxon Reader' (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan), which has been enlarged and partly rewritten. The preface, which explains the changes and improvements in detail, has a characteristically independent personal note.

Mr. Wallace Bruce's 'Panorama of the Hudson' (New York: Bryant Literary Union) is an oblong volume, fitted for the pocket or the shawl-strap, and showing photographically with sufficient distinctness on opposite pages the east and west banks of the river as far as Albany. Such a companion will do much to relieve the monotony of the day's sail and save the asking of many questions.

We have received the third supplement to the catalogue of the Public Library at Taunton, Mass., and, if our estimate be correct, the number of books recorded exceeds by some 2,500 the original body of the parent catalogue. It is a rough but no doubt an adequate as well as inexpensive finding-list. From the University of California we have a classified list of books in the pedagogical section of the Library, filling 59 pages.

The second edition of 'Graduate Courses: A Hand-book for Graduate Students,' has been issued by the Graduate Club of Harvard University, C. A. Duniway, secretary, and is supplied at the nominal price of ten cents. It displays the courses of nineteen colleges and universities, and adds the names of the instructors with their scholastic pedigrees. This work is of such manifest utility that its endowment seems imperative.

The new edition of 'Johnson's Gardener's Dictionary' (London: George Bell & Sons) has been thoroughly revised by Messrs. C. H. Wright and D. Dewar. It contains the names of nearly all cultivated or useful plants, with a few words indicating their character, use, or method of culture. Interspersed with these names are horticultural directions of all sorts,

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most of them doubtless good in their way, though some of them are rather amusing; for instance, the description of an ice-house reads as if it were designed by Robinson Crusoe. A good feature is the usually correct etymology of scientific names, which are also accented. The nomenclature follows Bentham and Hooker, as indeed it would naturally do when the editors gratefully acknowledge assistance readily accorded by the Kew botanists. If our magazine-writers would consult this useful book, they would learn to write *Wistaria* instead of *Wisteria*. "Gladi'olus" is given correctly, and so is "Cle'matis"; but Arbu'tus is surely an error.

It is difficult to see what principles of selection have guided Dr. Oliver R. Willis in preparing 'A Practical Flora for Schools and Colleges' (American Book Co.). The author claims to have made "a careful selection of the most important food-producing trees, shrubs, and herbs, including ornamental plants, fruits, nuts, medicinal plants, and those which furnish oils, dyes, lumber, textile fabrics, etc." Of course many plants would have to be omitted in a little book like this; but why ten American anemones and nineteen buttercups have a place, and not one lotus or water-lily, is not easy to understand. The articles on bananas, pineapples, cocoanuts, coffee, cotton, tea, melons, oranges, etc., are in the main satisfactory. Under the Blood Orange is the rather astonishing statement that "this form is more frequently taken on when the pomegranate stock is used, but occurs occasionally with regular stocks, and does not always appear when the pomegranate stock is used." Downing's note about Pliny's account of the tree in the garden of Lucullus is apropos here. This wonderful tree was grafted so as to yield olives, almonds, apples, pears, plums, figs, and dates!

'Le Commerce,' by Gustave François (Paris: Léon Chailley), is the second issue of a series of hand-books on "La Vie Nationale" edited by Charles Benoist and André Liesse. It is a natural companion to Bastable's 'Commerce of the Nations,' already noticed in these columns; for while Bastable's work deals primarily with the historical and economic aspects of the tariff question, François, after a brief but well-proportioned sketch of the history of commerce, confines himself to setting forth the relations of the Government to trade from the standpoint of administration. Thus his chapters on customs duties describe the methods of collecting duties, the classification and valuation of commodities, statistics of trade, etc. In referring to the revival of protectionism in recent years, François asserts that the exaggerations of the McKinley bill went ahead of anything yet accomplished by European protectionists. The last three chapters discuss commercial education. The author notes the absence of opportunities for higher commercial education in the United States, but makes no doubt that before long this country will possess institutions for the purpose as important as, and probably more prosperous than, those of the Old World.

'Eudes, Comte de Paris et Roi de France (882–898),' by Édouard Favre (Paris: Émile Bouillon), belongs to Prof. Giry's series of "Annales de l'Histoire de France à l'Époque Carolingienne," which, like the *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches*, aims to collect all the authenticated facts of a period and to present them in rigorous chronological order with exact references to the sources. Favre has done this for the period of Eudes with a zeal and care which rival the best German efforts of the kind. In an appendix he gives a compact and convenient sketch of the Normans up to the tenth century. In another appendix he discusses the meaning of *Dux Francorum*, and shows that it should be rendered simply the Duke of the Franks. The correlative term, *ducatus regni*, meant an office (a sort of regency), not a territory. It is not proper to speak of a Duchy of France; there was no such territorial division, and the term arose from a mistaken combination of *ducatus regni* and *Dux Francorum*. Flodoard only once employs the phrase *ducatus Franciæ* in connection with Hugues le Grand, but the meaning there is clearly the same as that of the ordinary *ducatus regni*.

Another monograph giving abundant evidence of the painstaking research and conscientious use of materials which are distinguishing the younger school of French historians is 'Le Connétable de Lesdiguières,' by Ch. Dufayard (Paris: Hachette & Cie.). The author has laid under contribution national and local French and Italian archives, local histories and family papers to illustrate the career of Lesdiguières. Much new light is thrown upon the relations between the Huguenots of the south of France and the Government. In his preface M. Dufayard exposes the inadequacy and untrustworthiness of the nearly contemporary work of Videl, hitherto the chief authority on the life of Lesdiguières.

Mme. E. Caro's 'L'Idole' (Paris: Calmann Lévy) is a study, well wrought out, of a purely selfish character lost in admiration and worship of herself. In contrast to this central figure is the sweet profile of a young girl—a character becoming decidedly more common in French fiction—and a suffering, sensitive cripple, one of the numerous victims of the idol. Frère Angi, who is neither a brother nor an angel but a very commonplace braggart and coward, is happily touched off, and the background of anarchist intrigue lends a feeling of actuality to the story. It is prettily if not vigorously written.

A new edition of Arsène Houssaye's 'La Pécheresse' (Paris: Calmann Lévy) has been published. The story is that of the Life of Théophile de Viau, poet and dramatist. The book is well known, and, as it has been out of print for some time, this reissue will be appreciated.

The third volume of the Florentine lectures of 1893, "La Vita Italiana nel Cinquecento: Arte," contains two articles, such as one looks for in an encyclopædia, on Raphael and Michelangelo, by Signor Enrico Panzacchi and by the late John Addington Symonds respectively, one by Signor Tommaso Salvini on the theatre, and another by Signor Alessandro Biaggi on the music of the sixteenth century. To the reader, Salvini's lecture may be disappointing, but to the listener the recitation of considerable portions of Trissino's "Sofonisba," of Rucellai's "Oreste," and Machiavelli's "Clizia" revealed the great actor's appreciation of those plays. Signor Biaggi makes the interesting statement that, but for the cultivation in Florence of the musical drama, Palestrina's reforms might have led no further.

"A monthly gazette of the patriotic-hereditary societies of the United States of America" appears to have been called for, and at all events that is the definition of the *American Historical Register* just launched in Philadelphia by the Historical Register Publishing Company, under the chief editorship of Charles H. Browning of the American Historical Association. Twenty-one other societies are represented by the associate editors, and the leading paper is on yet another, viz., the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities; and the celebrations and proceedings of such societies are to be printed in the *Register*. In the way of illustrations, miniatures seem likely to be numerous, and an autograph letter of Washington's in facsimile opens a department in this line.

Prof. H. P. Bowditch of the Harvard Medical School answers in *McClure's Magazine* for September the question, "Are Composite Photographs Typical Pictures?" with some very interesting illustrations, in which American physicians, car conductors and drivers, and Saxon and Wend soldiers are portrayed to the life and in the composite abstraction. The conclusion is that the process is well worth pursuing as an aid to ethnological research. The writer gives instructions for a simple method of making composites.

The Paris *Journal des Débats* of August 25 prints side by side a news item regarding a movement in the Department of the Nord to forbid the employment of female compositors in printing-houses, on a philanthropic sanitary pretence, and a note on the first women's printing-house, which carries us back four centuries, to Italy. The religious of a convent of St. James belonging to the Dominican Order had thriven by the copying and illuminating of manuscripts. The invention of printing threatened them with ruin, from which they were rescued by learning and betaking themselves to the new art. More than a hundred works issued from their press from 1476 to 1484, one of them being an edition of the 'Decameron,' dated 1478.

By an oversight in our last issue, on p. 177, "Prince Wolkowski" was printed for Volkonsky, Assistant Minister of Public Education in Russia.

—For some months a collection of sketches described as the work of John Trumbull has been offered for sale by a reputable book firm in New York city. When the announcement was first made there was much expectancy among experts and collectors, but the appearance of the catalogue dampened this, and the collection itself went far to dissipate it. The price asked for the entire collection—122 pieces in all—was $15,000; a few months later it was $10,000; and now, under a new catalogue, it has come down to $8,000, and individual lots may be purchased at varying prices. If this last quotation is a fair one, the others were exorbitant; but the price is not so much in question as the authenticity of the sketches. The evidence adduced by the present owner is singularly meagre. The collection "is believed" to have remained in the possession of Trumbull until about 1824. It then passed into the hands of a Virginian, a close friend of Trumbull, from whose grandchildren they were recently obtained. In the first catalogue issued Trumbull is said to have parted with the collection "for personal reasons," presumably pecuniary, though for eight years Trumbull had been receiving from Congress an average payment of $4,000 per annum on account of his Capitol paintings; and the Virginian is described as having been "connected with Congress for a number of years." These assertions are not repeated in the new catalogue. "The authenticity of the collection is attested by experts," of the first notice, is much elaborated in the second, where the authenticity is "fully and emphatically guaranteed"; "has been recognized by artists

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familiar with his work," "difficult if not impossible to ascribe to any one else," etc., etc.

—It may be admitted at once that if these are Trumbull sketches, they possess a high monetary if not a high historical value. But the claims made in their behalf should receive a closer examination than the present owner has given them. Who are the experts who have passed on the question? One is known to be a gentleman whose opinion on art is worthy of all credence; but he has frankly admitted that the sketches could not have been drawn from life, and certainly not in 1776, and in no case are equal to the artist's general work. The other "experts" are unknown to us. Why conceal the name of the Virginian who received them from Trumbull? It is said he was one Col. Mosier, or Mosher, of Washington; but a descendant of Col. Mosier fails to have any recollection of such sketches being in the family—a remarkable lapse of memory, as the drawings were supposed to have been framed about 1824, and, therefore, unlikely to have been hid away in a garret. Then as to the identification of the drawings, some further doubt is presented. The owner claims that the pencilled names on the back are "for the greater part" in Trumbull's hand. That should be a strong bit of testimony but for the fact that some of the "mems." have been found to be wrong; and would it be likely for the artist to have mistaken his subjects? As no sketches by Trumbull of an early date are known to exist, comparison is impossible; yet it is just to ask that better evidence of the authenticity of such crude, badly drawn, and worse proportioned sketches, dealing often with trivial matters, should be furnished than irrelevant quotations from Trumbull's autobiography, and "guesses" of an owner desirous to sell. One of the early paintings of Trumbull is that of the Governor and Faith Trumbull, now in Norwich, Connecticut. It was probably done before the Revolution, as the face of "Brother Jonathan" is more youthful than other known portraits of him. The artist who painted this pair of portraits could not have perpetrated such pieces as these sketches. Many of the arguments of the cataloguer could be directed against his claims. If "artistic and military propriety" would prevent Trumbull from picturing Washington with Arnold after 1780, what can be said of the propriety of drawing Washington "in undress uniform," supporting Miss Pollock, "who presses her head against his shoulder, in fear," while Putnam on a ladder without is blowing a horn! Who were the Pollocks, drawn in more than one picture? If these sketches were done in Cambridge, no Pollock family is recorded thereabouts. What can we say of the drawing of Washington, "a delegate to Philadelphia, May 2nd, 1786, one of 7 from Virginia, to examine the Trade of U. S."?

—'The Geographical Distribution of the Vote of the Thirteen States on the Federal Constitution,' by Orin Grant Libby of the University of Wisconsin, is a valuable and exceedingly interesting study of causes and effects, political, geographical, and social. The influences which worked for and against the Constitution have generally been regarded as those of States; but Mr. Libby now demonstrates that there were wheels within wheels—geographical divisions within State lines which operated with almost as much directness and precision as if these communities had been independent bodies-politic. Massachusetts is generally supposed to have been a strong Federal State, but Mr. Libby's analysis shows that the vote in the State convention for ratifying the Federal Constitution was cast in these proportions:

"Eastern section—Yeas, 73 per cent.; nays, 27 per cent.
"Middle section—Yeas, 14 per cent.; nays, 86 per cent.
"Western section—Yeas, 42 per cent.; nays, 58 per cent."

The eastern section included the coast, the commercial interests, and substantially all the towns; the middle was the theatre of Shays's rebellion; the western was the mountain region west of the Connecticut, the frontier. New York, again, is always regarded as having been a close State, but its division was almost absolutely geographical. All of the counties west of the Hudson and north of Dutchess gave but one single vote in favor of the Constitution. Dutchess elected anti-Federal delegates, but was nearly equally divided. All of the region south of Dutchess and east of the Hudson was almost unanimously Federal. When the Convention assembled, a majority of the delegates were in the opposition, and the Constitution was saved by a few delegates from the wavering counties of Dutchess, Queens, and Suffolk, who, enlightened by the debates, and conscious of a changing sentiment at home, broke away from their party and secured the ratification which they had been elected to oppose. This study forms a pamphlet of 116 pages, with two maps showing the distribution of the vote in 1788 and of the population in 1790. It is issued as a Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, and is a thoroughly creditable piece of work, both as regards the University and the author.

—We deeply regret to record the death on September 4 of James Clarke Welling, for many years and up to the present moment one of our most valued contributors. Mr. Welling was a native of New Jersey, having been born at Trenton, July 14, 1825, and he graduated at Princeton in 1844. His profession was the law, but he quickly abandoned it for teaching and journalism, in which pursuits, either separately or in combination, he found his life-work; yet law remained his favorite chair. He began journalist in connection with Gales & Seaton, at Washington, while that capital still boasted a paper having a national reputation and influence. At the close of the civil war he renewed his career as an educator, at first as president of St. John's College, at Annapolis, Md., afterwards for one year as professor of belles-lettres at Princeton, and finally, in 1871, as president of Columbian College (now University) in Washington. His administrative powers found here a fine field for their exercise during a quarter of a century, and he left the institution in a most flourishing condition. The public estimation in which he was held was evinced by his election as president of the board of trustees of the Corcoran Gallery, and one of the regents and chairman of the executive committee of the Smithsonian Institution. He was also an active member and presiding officer of several learned societies in the District. His scholarship was very extensive, and in the field of modern American history he had few rivals in ready and accurate information. As a controversial writer he was formidable, and it was in this capacity that, in 1875, he made his début in the *Nation* as a champion of Prof. Henry, in a review of Tyndall's work on 'Sound.' Since 1886 his contributions to the *Nation* have been constant, and chiefly in the line of our political history.

—President Welling was possessed of a very genial temperament which masked his age. Had he been sooner freed from the charge of the University, we have little doubt that his life would have been considerably prolonged. We quote from a letter dated Washington, February 12, 1894, which shows his consciousness of overwork, while a hope is indulged of further literary achievement. The specific labor he had in mind was worthy of his experience and peculiar abilities, and it is much to be feared that no one equally competent will be found to undertake it. He thus wrote:

"As one of your 'hands,' I think that I ought to tell you that I have resigned the presidency of this University, to take effect at the end of the current scholastic year in June. I shall probably betake myself to my summer home in Hartford, and live there throughout the whole year, though I *may* return to Washington, every winter, to deliver my annual lectures on International Law before our Law School. With over a hundred and fifty men in our Faculty, I find the cares of administration very carking, and I am glad to shift the burden on other shoulders. Besides, I have some literary work to which I shall devote the residue of my days. I purpose to write the Civil History of our Civil War. As this task-work will leave some intervals of time for other 'diversions,' I will lend my pen to you as opportunity may offer. I was the Literary Editor of the old *National Intelligencer* before I assumed its political conduct in the year 1858."

—Prof. Joseph Hyrtl, who died at Perchtolsdorf, near Vienna, on July 17, was not only a distinguished anatomist, but also a very original character. He was born December 7, 1810, at Eisenstadt, and was the son of a musician who belonged to the Esterházy orchestra of which Joseph Haydn was the conductor. The boy devoted himself at first to music, but soon decided to study medicine. In 1836, at the early age of twenty-six, he was appointed to the professorship of anatomy in the University of Vienna, and held this position until 1874, when he tendered his resignation and withdrew to the suburban village in which he died and where, owing to his secluded life, he was generally known as "the hermit of Perchtolsdorf." In his retirement he continued to pursue his scientific studies with unabated zeal, and published numerous monographs containing the results of his researches, especially in comparative anatomy. He even learned Arabic and Hebrew in order to be able to read in the original the writings of Moorish and Jewish physicians. He is best known abroad by his 'Lehrbuch der Anatomie des Menschen,' which was issued in 1846 and has passed through thirty editions, besides being translated into all the principal languages of Europe. Hyrtl's lectures were exceedingly attractive; he was a master of lucid exposition, which he enlivened with an undercurrent of quiet humor, and occasionally enlightened with sudden flashes of wit. Once at an examination he asked the following question: "What can you tell me of the functions of the spleen?" The student, not wishing to confess his ignorance, replied hesitatingly: "I used to know, but it has unfortunately escaped me." "Unhappy man!" said Hyrtl; "you are the only one who ever knew anything about it, and you have forgotten it." At another time the candidate, a Jew named Jerusalem, failed to pass the examination. His friends were anxiously awaiting the result in an antechamber, when Hyrtl, going out, took in the situation at a glance and exclaimed in the words of Jeremiah: "Weep, O Israel! Jerusalem has fallen." Countless anec-

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dotes of this kind might be told of him. With all the keenness of his sarcasm, Hyrtl was a remarkably tender-hearted man, and spent money without stint for charitable purposes, and especially for the education of poor children. In his last will and testament, after setting apart considerable sums for scientific investigations and generously remembering the village of Perchtolsdorf, he made the orphan asylum of Mödling the sole heir of the rest of his estate, amounting to more than half a million of florins, on the condition that it should pay a life annuity to his widow.

—Under the title, 'Crazy Book-collecting,' the Grolier Club has issued in a small, neat, rough-edged volume, a translation of 'De la Bibliomanie,' written by Boullioud-Mermet of the Lyons Academy, and published anonymously in 1761. It is recorded that Mr. Caudle obtained needed repose, after the decease of his spouse, by setting down with pen and ink the substance of her nocturnal admonitions, but we never heard that he got out an *édition de luxe* for presentation to his friends. Whatever the motive—whether good-humored tolerance or the wish for that manner of comfort which the English duke found in responding to the Decalogue, "Never did that, never did that," or a genuine conviction of sin—in any case the resulting booklet, decorously enlivened by its pink end-papers, is outwardly attractive, while its matter will serve to pass an idle hour to more advantage than the latest novel. It is a serving up, in an old-fashioned manner, with garnishings from the classics, of the time-honored complaints against the book-collector, wherein are denounced, sensibly enough, what were, and doubtless are, real evils; but, for effect, a treatise on the irregularity of the moon's motion will about as quickly amend the ways of our satellite. The most notable thing in the book, to a modern reader, is recurring exception, from many of the animadversions, expressly allowed to "princes or nobles." A preface in rebuttal—the bull is not chargeable to us—presumably by the translator, closes with an invitation to Grangerizers which we take to be a refinement of revenge upon the author.

MORE FICTION.

Pan Michael. By Henryk Sienkiewicz. Translated from the Polish by Jeremiah Curtin. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

A Journey in Other Worlds. By John Jacob Astor. D. Appleton & Co.

The Wings of Icarus. By Laurence Alma-Tadema. Macmillan.

A Suburban Pastoral, and Other Tales. By Henry A. Beers. Henry Holt & Co.

Tales of the Maine Coast. By Noah Brooks. Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Exiles, and Other Stories. By Richard Harding Davis. Harper & Bros.

A Pound of Cure. By William Henry Bishop. Charles Scribner's Sons.

An Interloper. By Frances Mary Peard. Harper & Bros.

The Man in Black. By Stanley J. Weyman. Cassell Publishing Co.

Under the Red Robe. By Stanley J. Weyman. Longmans.

Mary Fenwick's Daughter. By Beatrice Whitby, author of 'The Awakening of Mary Fenwick.' D. Appleton & Co.

WITH the history of 'Pan Michael,' Sienkiewicz closes the series of historical novels relating to the wars of the Polish Commonwealth. As the Cossack wars and the Swedish invasion were the subjects of the preceding books ('With Fire and Sword' and 'The Deluge'), so in 'Pan Michael' the recital is of the Turkish attack upon the Commonwealth. A truce from wars, however, and a long encampment give ample leisure for the adjustment of Pan Michael's love affairs before battles begin. In love and war he is aided and abetted by Pan Zagloba, the Falstaffian hero of the earlier novels, who is still the same delightful braggart, busybody, and wit as of old, the pet and the derision of the Commonwealth. There is no falling off in interest in this third and last book of the series; again Sienkiewicz looms as one of the great novel-writers of the world. He has infinite patience in historic research, utmost skill in elaboration of detail, remarkable power of creating character, and a distinguishing ability to make the past seem present. To these equipments is added an insight into inner sources of conduct which are of no people or time but of humanity itself—an insight so subtle as to proclaim him a master equally in analysis and in narrative. The fruit of such powers is a romance which will captivate even him who reads for history; a tale of battles which will moisten the eye of the lover of love stories.

The heroes of the previous numbers of this trilogy of novels appear now in long-wedded unimportance, and "Pan Michael" is the centre of the story—the "little knight," with moustaches ever quivering with excitement, fiery in his zeal for his country, "the swordsman above swordsmen, with the heart of a dove." It would be almost true to say that his sabre is the hero, for it carries as large a share of the action as if it were indeed alive and possessed of a potent personality. The heroine, Basia, that tender-hearted hoyden, is one more proof that Sienkiewicz's inventive powers have no limit. Yet his inventions are always possible, for, wide as is his scope, he keeps ever a wary eye upon human nature, like one of his own hetmans, who, though planning a nation's campaigns, is always a tender father to each of his soldier knights. In a fast-enlarging crowd of fiction-writers one reads and balances and pronounces, but when a Sienkiewicz comes, the judgment stands up, and, freed from all office but that of recognition, says, "Here is genius." If the halo is ever seen to be askew, it is in matters where the tastes and sensibilities of races differ. There are pages of description of bodily torture which the most honest translator might have been pardoned for omitting.

The leading motive of Mr. Astor's 'Journey in Other Worlds' is sounded in the preface, where, after settling in a few breezy sentences "the protracted struggle between science and the classics" in favor of the former, he goes on to say: "How much more interesting it would be if, instead of reiterating our past achievements, the magazines and literature of the period should devote their consideration to what we do not know!" This book is all about what we do not know, therefore a potent plea for the strictly scientific. To do the argument justice, the speculations as to the state of the universe in the year 2000 A. D. are founded in part upon the discoveries and inventions of the present time. Electricity, for example, supersedes animal motive power; the baleful germ has been harnessed to man's use and made to slay the superfluous rabbit and the objectionable serpent. Perfect pavements, really rapid transit, rain-making, navigation by electricity and tides (without boilers, engines, sails, or sea-sickness), marine spiders, or ships spinning on many legs over the ocean's surface, air vessels, coast-making and valley-filling, the straightening of the earth's axis (in order to produce an equable climate) by pumping out the waters at the poles alternately—are among the accomplished facts of the next century, based on principles known to this, and all are explained in convincing detail. But new forces are discovered also; and chiefly apergy, which annuls gravitation, and which, yoked with gravitation, enables three en- and ap-ergetic gentlemen to visit Jupiter and Saturn and return to earth. Many of their adventures are very entertaining and suggestive. There are discoveries for all—for the boy who used to read Mayne Reid; for the adult whose tastes incline him to Jules Verne or to the astronomic flights of Flammarion; for the botanist, the hunter, the inventor, the scientist, and for the theologian who loves to speculate on the place of departed spirits. There is food for all, or, if any one goes away from the banquet hungry, it will be the poet. This is what a Vassar girl of the twenty-first century writes under her lover's photograph:

> "Did you but know how I love you,
> No more silly things would you ask.
> With my whole heart and soul I adore you,
> Idiot! Goose! Bombast!"

The conclusion of Laurence Alma-Tadema's story is a pity, for up to the last moments it is a book of unusual vital force. A more honest photograph has never been made than of Emilia Fletcher's mind: of her morbid weakness, her heroic power, her grief, doubts, fears; of her friendships, hypocrisies, tendernesses; of her love, pride, and jealousy; of her recklessness and cowardice. The world is ear-deep in love-stories—so deep that the reader well-nigh forgets that there remains a possibility of finding distinction in any, till now and then, as in the present instance, there appears one written with that greatest distinction, the truth, and with a living pulse-beat instead of the mechanical or conventional action that usually does duty for nature. So much may be said for the Letters and Journal which tell the first part of Emilia's story. The postscript opens well, but ends in an artistic no less than a moral collapse, disappointing to the interest awakened by an evident and original talent.

Mr. Beers's stories are of light calibre, and abound in modern college speech and thought. His college men talk with naturalness and in a bright, gay, semi-cynical vein which makes their conversations entertaining, particularly those among themselves. When they are in ladies' society, they are neither so clever nor so agreeable. The descriptions of nature, in which the pages are rich, are made with a light yet intimate touch. One recognizes a student, almost a discoverer, of the pastoral as found not far from the madding crowd, in the suburban field, the cedar-girt cemetery, the unimproved city lot. The author is skilled in leading the reader into surprises, and he has the latter-day love of the indeterminate. Sometimes the twilight of his conclusions seems to come from the instinct of the artist, sometimes from that of the perfectly good-tempered and humorous pessimist; the poet and the collegian are yoked rather than fused—the stories have always a two fold flavor. Whether or no the plot is ingenious, and it frequently is, the atmosphere is always markedly that of the reader of books, the lover of nature, and the delineator of humanity. The books reflected are the best, the nature is the half-reclaimed, and the humanity, shall we say? lies between the two.

Mr. Brooks's tales of the Maine coast are as pleasantly redolent of brine and tar as an ocean voyage; of East Indian spices and per-

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fumes as a grand-maternal chest in an attic; of village oddities as only an old coast town can be. In such a community the native quintessence is heightened instead of lessened by touch with the farthest ends of the earth. The carved whale's tooth and the bunch of red coral that the sailor lad carries home only bring out afresh the local coloring of the New England amphibious town. Adventure rather than character is the phase emphasized by Mr. Brooks, although a harmonious balance is held between the two, while the style is that of the capable, competent writer.

"Perhaps it may turn out a sang, Perhaps turn out a sermon," was not spoken of Richard Harding Davis's stories, but might have been. Under the airy, all but frivolous manner, under the detail, the localisms, the light-hearted realism, lies often what we will not call by so dry a name as a moral, still less a purpose; a hint, let us rather say, at the soul of evil or good in things good or evil, that sets one to thinking the deeper because unexpectedly. The sermon, be it said, is never preached. The story is trilled forth, and the listener helps himself to song, sermon, or both. "The Exiles" is the strongest story Mr. Davis has written, and is an achievement of real power—a tale calculated to give pause to those who either defy or deify public opinion. "His Bad Angel," too, is a holding up of the mirror to Nature's motive springs, and has no little suggestive force. If we are prompted by these stories to think that Mr. Davis succeeds best where he is saying most, there is temptation to reverse the opinion in reading "The Right of Way," which turns out a song, and is a gay little piece of student fun on the Avon River. Our brothers the Hefty Burke and the Van Bibber reappear in other stories, at their most distinctive, but in fresh situations; nor are new and attractive acquaintances lacking. The subjunctive and will-and-shall proof-reader has hardly had his share in this attractive and original volume.

Mr. Bishop's story of Monte Carlo is strong and effective as a picture of the gambling passion, and full of charming little "murmurs and scents" of the Mediterranean shore. The glimpses of a child are pretty and true. The characters of the good and the evil angels are somewhat indistinct, but they serve, since the story is rather of the irresistible force of opportunity in a temptation once yielded to than of any human influences for or against it. The writing, as might have been expected, is expressive and highly trained.

A comfortable, old-fashioned story, based on comfortable, old-fashioned lines, is Miss Peard's story of an alliance between a bourgeoise and a scion of the oldest noblesse of France, with the not wholly unexpected result of the bourgeoise proving to be much the better half. The perplexities and mysteries and troubles belong to an old but good school of fiction, freshened with a new device or two. The reader ambles alongside in cheerfully familiar suspense and well-worn luxury of woe. There is always extreme smoothness and refinement in Miss Peard's style and material. In 'An Interloper' there are these, and there are several notably well-drawn personalities. The child is truly a child, with no poses; the old bourgeois father, the *dévote* sister-in-law, the Parisian advocate, are excellently distinct. The interest, moreover, deepens and culminates in satisfactory fashion. Breathes there a novel-reader with soul so dead who does not love a court-room and a trial?

The pen that wrote 'Francis Cludde' finds a public more than ready for its fresh ventures. Nor will that public suffer a disappointment in reading 'The Man in Black' and 'Under the Red Robe.' Both are stories of the time of Richelieu, and both clamor to be read when once begun. They are well-knit in their make; they are romantic without feebleness, and stirring without bombast, and they are sweet and clean.

Miss Whitby has introduced a novel character in the daughter of Mary Fenwick, and although she has been sparing in exasperating allusions to the scenes in which Mary Fenwick the first lived and moved, we are led to wonder why, in view of her abundant resources, all the characters could not have come fresh from the author's hand. As a study of heredity there is a lack of vividness and definiteness, partly due, perhaps, to the very limitations which a sequel imposes. As a tale pure and simple this sequel pictures well-to-do English country life, with its inevitable accompaniments of hunting, golfing, and other sports, naturally and pleasantly, and without too many field and stable euphuisms. Cupid enters the lists against the energetic and defiant Diana of a heroine, but without success until she is put *hors de combat* by a runaway horse and a frightful accident. After two years or more of helplessness ministered to by a lover faithful from childhood, the vanquished Diana falls a victim to matrimony, and develops into a British matron of a rather unusual type, one who "likes to have her husband make up her mind for her," and even becomes inspired with "reverence" for a mother-in-law whose spiteful, meddlesome character the author has clearly set forth.

A lack of humor sometimes allows Miss Whitby's pen to slip into bathos, and a morbid fancy for quotation-marks awakens the uncomfortable suspicion that the most commonplace expressions require endorsement. For if we are not to make use, for example—and it is by no means an isolated one—of such an innocent phrase as "make her little finger ache," without fencing it off with inverted commas, what a future lies before us! The numerous typographical errors are downright amusing, though some people may not care for that sort of entertainment.

MR. GOLDWIN SMITH'S TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GREEK TRAGEDIANS.—II.

Specimens of Greek Tragedy. Translated by Goldwin Smith, D.C.L. Æschylus and Sophocles; Euripides. 2 vols. Macmillan & Co.

THERE is no doubt a strong temptation to translate line for line, and there is also in the Greek dramatic dialogue a balancing and numbering of lines which it is pleasant to detect, and which was one of the golden chains that tragedy moved in and decked itself withal. In the choral odes, balance and number are carried out with mathematical accuracy; yet Mr. Smith is ready to dispense completely with the choruses, which exhibit this peculiarity in perfection. In the dialogue we may certainly dispense with a nicety which can only be discovered by counting, which is unknown in English, and which is a heavy strain on the translator. Our problem must not be overloaded with difficulties—we must not carry too many chains. The main object of a metrical translation is evidently to reproduce something more than the thought and the matter—the mere body—of the original. These can be given satisfactorily in prose. The aim of the metrical version must be to suggest also other qualities of the original, its felicities of phrase, its rhythm, its musical language, its soul of beauty; and the very terms of the problem require that these shall be expressed or suggested in rhythms and melodies and beauties, native to the new language, though akin, if possible, to the old.

Now it is quite plain that the translator who sets himself the task of following the original line for line, or word for word, shackles himself at the outset by undertaking to accompany the precise pace and movement of an alien Pegasus. If he has a real poetic gift, he handicaps himself, just as Longfellow, for many plausible reasons, handicapped himself regrettably in his version of the 'Divina Commedia.' The process of Chapman and of FitzGerald was different from this. Each of these charged himself with the spirit of his author, and, after a deep draught of inspiration, poured forth the message that was in him. In spirit, in power, in fire and passion, the result was faithful to the original; in language, it was delivered from the fetters of individual lines, or words, or phrases. It was inspired, but the inspiration was not verbal. FitzGerald, as he confesses, was "haunted by the ghost of Agamemnon until he laid it." Chapman's style had some of the freaks of his period; FitzGerald, on the other hand, had "the feminine of genius," as he calls it—taste. He had, moreover, the professional equipment which even a poet requires, if he is to write any kind of verse that has a history in the English language. He had, of course, studied his Shakspere as every gentleman and scholar does; but he had gone much further: he had lived in the society of the Elizabethan poets, and absorbed in his ear the cadences of Webster and Ford, and the imaginative diction of Marlowe; and so he had mastered the difficult secret of blank verse, of its long melodious periods, its intricate and varied music, which are quite a match in charm and freedom and power for the Homeric hexameter and the Attic trimeter. Finally, he was, in spite of his own vehement denials, a poet, though not strongly creative; hence he was willing to be a satellite—to shine with a borrowed light.

Now, Mr. Smith is not, like Chapman or FitzGerald, "haunted" by his author; he is not exactly inspired. He is simply working deliberately at a problem which he solves with finish and general success. We are tempted to examine minutely workmanship of this kind; and a minute examination reveals here and there little flaws and specks in the execution. One might take, for example, that fiery speech of *Medea*, in which, *more Euripideo*, she lashes herself into a reasoning and most reasonable rage against *Jason*. It is by no means Mr. Smith's best piece of work, and that is the reason it serves us here for an illustration. One might pick holes in it; one might remark, Here *Jason* says something ridiculous which Euripides never put in his mouth; here, again, a strong line is weakened; here an important phrase is omitted; here is a slight misrepresentation; here a lapse into prose; here some careless, lisping lines harsher than the "sigmatism" which *Medea* permits herself, with good reason, against her betrayer. But all this prying and piddling leads to nothing. Every one of these slips might be mended and there would still be the same general complaint to make. These minute criticisms which a scholar might make would be of small moment to the English reader, if the general sweep of the translation were as impassioned, dramatic, and musical as the original. The original is a strong passage, which reads and declaims admirably.

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but it is by no means unapproachable. In point of fact, Mr. Smith was here more literal than usual; and this, perhaps, was his temptation. In feeling about after the Greek, and taking it word for word, he missed somewhat the flow and passion; he was not at all inspired; he was trying—perhaps, in a listless mood—to work out an equation between two languages.

This "conscientious fidelity under which the original drags and labors" is exactly what FitzGerald deprecates for the class of readers who, after all, are most deeply concerned—those who have no Greek or Spanish or Persian, as the case may be. The present writer will probably never read the Persian of Omar Khayyám; but he is profoundly grateful for the quatrains which revealed to him the fascinations of that Oriental Anacreon whose song has a strain of the splendid melancholy of Lucretius. He does not greatly care whether FitzGerald rendered line for line, or could take his oath to every word and phrase and metaphor. He knows that he can resort to some prose version, and verify at his leisure the precise terms of the original document. On the other hand, he feels sure that the quatrains have given him a true glimpse of an enchanted land that is very far off, that they have reproduced for him the spirit of some strange and powerful original, with all its spell of phrase and melody and rhythm. So, too, in the daring versions of the "Agamemnon" and his combination of the two plays that bear the name of "Oedipus." In these FitzGerald certainly cut loose from "conscientious fidelity"; he took great liberties; he released his text from some bits of antiquity and archæology which require a running commentary to understand; he bound himself fast to genuine English dramatic forms. But did he really miss the quintessence of the Greek spirit, and beauty and sublimity, the atmosphere and color of Greek tragedy? No more, we think, than he missed the Oriental color and enchantment in the quatrain and in "Salaman and Absal." Out of all the experiments that have yet been made, we should still venture to place in the hands of the unlearned reader his paraphrase of the "Agamemnon." With the aid of this and of a good prose translation, he might safely correct his calculations, and divine the planet he has never seen.

Such a reader might guess how much, after all, he loses in the best prose rendering. Take, for example, the lullaby in the "Philoctetes," which runs in liquid melody, and is expressed in a few magic words that haunt the imagination like one of Shakspere's songs. Turned into prose, what becomes of it? It is like the transformation of those sheeny grasses and iridescent shells one sees waving or moving in the liquid light of some rock pool. You take them out and arrange them on cards or in a cabinet; you may be able to make affidavit to the scientific integrity of every particle of the objects; but what has happened? The splendor, the enchanting colors, the life and motion, are clean gone. The things are dead—they are no longer in their element. This magic element—this vehicle which transforms and beautifies all that lives and moves in it—is what the poet gives and the rhetorician denies.

A single brief extract will illustrate the difference between the conscientious, line-for-line method, and the poetical method, permitting itself some license. Clytæmnestra has just openly avowed her murderous plot, and, in reply to the reproaches of the chorus, dares them to do their worst. The versions run as follows:

Prof. Smith's:

"Yea, thy award to me is banishment
And execration and the people's curse,
But no such measure didst thou mete this man
When recklessly as it had been a beast,
While in the pastures sheep were numberless,
He sacrificed his child, the dearest child
That I had borne, to charm the Thracian gales.
Him from the land to drive for his foul deed
Thy justice moved thee not. But now I come
Before the bar, the judge is merciless.
I warn thee that thy threats are launched at one
Who, if thou canst in equal combat win,
Will yield; but should heaven otherwise ordain,
Thou mayst too late be put to wisdom's school."

FitzGerald's:

"Aye, aye, to me how lightly you adjudge
Exile or death, and never had a word
Of counter-condemnation for him there;
Who, when the field throve with the proper flock
For sacrifice, forsooth let be the beast,
And with his own hand his own innocent
Blood, and the darling passion of my womb—
Her slew—to lull a peevish wind of Thrace.
And him who curs'd the city with that crime
You hail with acclamation; but on me,
Who only do the work you should have done,
You turn the axe of condemnation. Well;
Threaten you me, I take the challenge up;
Here stand we face to face; win thou the game,
And take the stake you aim at; but if I—
Then, by the Godhead that for me decides,
Another lesson you shall learn, though late."

Each passage is, we think, fairly characteristic. Mr. Smith's is scholarly, it follows the Greek almost line for line; it is close without being slavish, and it is, as a matter of course, expressed in forcible, idiomatic English. If now we read aloud—or, if an actor reads aloud—FitzGerald's lines, we discover, first of all, that they were written to be acted, that the lines move with the speaker, that the passage is naturally dramatic. It is alive with all the fire and passion and daring of the "man-mettled" queen. It is, moreover, entirely spontaneous English, taking its mould from nothing but English models, and suggesting no hidden constraint like the lines we have italicized in Mr. Smith's version, which we venture to say would never have been written as they are except under the dictation of the Greek order and syntax. It treats the original with some freedom, yet it preserves all the meaning; it preserves, too, that fine imaginative phrase (φιλτάτην ἐμοὶ ὠδῖν') which Mr. Smith found it in his heart to commute for matter-of-fact prose.

Our conclusion is briefly this: There is room and use for translations in prose as well as verse; each may present certain phases which can hardly be exhibited in perfection by the other. But a translation in verse should, if possible, result in a poem, and should, therefore—if you can catch him—be done by a poet. Moreover, when you catch him, you must not bind him down by too hard-and-fast conditions, but let him have somewhat free play in the forms of his native language, and under the influence of a sort of secondary inspiration. Otherwise you clip his wings, and your version lumbers, and the critics point out how preferable is prose to verse in translations. And since born poets are so rare and shy creatures to catch, and so whimsical and balky, as a rule, in harness, let us be thankful when an adroit master of the resources of our English speech like Prof. Smith finds leisure to step in and serve us.

THE BRITISH FORTIETH.

Historical Records of the Fortieth (Second Somersetshire) Regiment, now First Battalion, the Prince of Wales's Volunteers (South Lancashire Regiment), from its formation in 1717 to 1893. By Capt. R. H. Raymond Smythies, First Bat., P. W. V. (S. Lan. Reg.). Devonport. 1894. Thirty-three full-page illustrations. 8vo, pp. 640.

No regiment in the British army has such a peculiar claim on the interest of Americans as the one of which the above work is an account. Originally formed in this country, it has been closely connected with our military history from the early part of the last century down to the close of the war of 1812 and the capture of Fort Bowyer in Mobile Bay. From that time it contributes to the annals of English prowess and conquest in nearly every quarter of the world. Its career has been singularly fortunate. In the long series of actions in which it was engaged, we do not remember that it was in one notable defeat, nor did it lose by capture any considerable number, except four companies at Canso in 1744, through no fault of their own, and one in Newfoundland in 1762. On the other hand, nineteen honors are inscribed on its colors, outnumbering those of every regiment of but one battalion in the army, and amply justifying its familiar title, "The Excellers" (XLers). It is to be deeply regretted that this title, the Fortieth, by which it is known in history, should be lost in the merely territorial designation which the recent reorganization of the army requires. "The loss of individuality and of connection with the past can in no regiment have been greater and in none more keenly felt."

Capt. Raymond Smythies has not attempted to make of the abundant material which he has gathered from every source for his work a connected narrative. Under each year he has given briefly the movements and services of the regiment in that interval and every few years its roster. Much of this detail is necessarily dry and unappetizing, but wherever an opportunity occurs to insert a personal account of some noteworthy action, the author has skilfully used it. These accounts are drawn in several instances from manuscript sources. It was in the year 1717 that the regiment was formed out of the eight companies which at that time garrisoned the frontier posts of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. The only one of its original officers who attained any particular distinction was Capt. (afterwards Gen.) Paul Mascarene, a Huguenot refugee, who was acting governor of Nova Scotia during the most critical period of its history. For nearly half a century it performed garrison duty, neglected, as was too common in those days with regiments on foreign service, by the home Government and its honorary commanders. At times the soldiers were even dependent upon the private means of their officers for food and clothing, and the companies dwindled away each to a few decrepit old men. Yet even in this condition it laid the foundations of its reputation as the "Fighting Fortieth" by beating back from the crumbling walls of Annapolis Royal, in two successive years, an overwhelming force of French and Indians. Its long series of distinctions began with the second siege of Louisburg in 1758, when the detachment of which it formed a part, under Gen. Wolfe, succeeded in making a landing despite the heavy surf and the hot fire of the enemy. The following year its grenadiers joined in the brilliant, though rash and unsuccessful, attack on the fortifications of Quebec, which called out a severe rebuke from the commanding general. This error they retrieved on the Heights of Abraham when they made the final charge upon the French with Wolfe at their head. The regiment was present at the capture of Montreal, where it remained in garrison until the summer of 1761, when it was withdrawn to take part in the expedition against the French and Spanish West Indies.

The siege of Havana, during which it lost

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heavily, was the next important service on which it was engaged. After the restoration of this place to Spain in 1763, the regiment returned to Nova Scotia, and in the following year was transferred to Ireland. Here it was stationed till the spring of 1775, when it was ordered to America, arriving at Boston the week after the battle of Bunker Hill. At this time it numbered 475 men, but the hardships of the following winter considerably reduced its strength. On the evacuation of Boston, the British army went to Halifax, whence a detachment of the regiment consisting of 170 men was immediately sent to Georgia to obtain rice for the forces. This was not accomplished without some difficulty, as the rebellious townspeople of Savannah refused supplies. Consequently "a detachment was sent up the Back River in boats, which succeeded in carrying off eighteen vessels of grain, whilst the attention of the inhabitants was attracted by the larger vessels, which made a feint up the ordinary passage." Among the losses reported in Gen. Howe's despatch, was "one man killed and scalped." At the Battle of Long Island the regiment lost its commander, Lieut.-Col. Grant, and, in rescuing his body, the adjutant (afterwards Gen. Sir John Doyle) greatly distinguished himself. It was also present and took part in the actions of White Plains, Fort Washington, Princeton, and Brandywine.

But the crowning distinction of its service in the Revolutionary war was gained at Germantown. During the retreat of the British early in the day, six companies of the Fortieth flung themselves into the Chew House, which they held, notwithstanding all the efforts of Washington to dislodge them, until the British had time to form and drive back our troops. In commemoration of this action a medal was specially struck and presented by the colonel of the regiment to the officers and men. It bears on one side a representation of Chew House, surrounded by American troops, with cannon firing upon it, and on the other side the words, "Germantown, Oct^r 4, 1777," encircled by a laurel wreath. After the battle of Monmouth Court-house, in which the repulse of our troops is ascribed by Gen. Clinton, in part, to "the good countenance of the Fortieth Regiment," it was sent to the West Indies along with the expedition for the conquest of St. Lucia. In 1781 it returned to Staten Island, and soon after was detailed for service in Gen. Arnold's raid on New London. With the Fifty-fourth it made the brave and sanguinary assault on Fort Griswold, losing eighty-six men killed and wounded, including its commander, or nearly a fourth of its number. Upon his successor, Major Stephen Bromfield, still rests the grave suspicion of having murdered the gallant Col. Ledyard at the moment of the surrender of the latter's sword. Mr. W. H. Harris, in his work 'The Battle of Groton Heights,' with very ingenious though not conclusive arguments, endeavors to prove that the infamous deed is to be laid to the charge of Capt. Beckwith of the Fifty-fourth Regiment. When the latter, some years after the war, was accused of the crime, he indignantly denied it, and is said to have produced documentary evidence to prove his innocence.

On the 25th of November, 1783, Evacuation Day, the regiment embarked for England, the officer who commanded it at Germantown, Lieut.-Col. (afterwards Gen. Sir Thomas) Musgrave being the "acting brigadier and commandant of New York," the last English officer to serve in this capacity. At this time it was quartered on "Laurel Hill in York Island," its strength being 242 officers and men. Want of space prevents our following the fortunes of the regiment during its service in Holland, the West Indies, in Egypt (where it distinguished itself at Abukir and Alexandria), and in South America, whence it returned with Montevideo to be inscribed on its colors. In the Peninsula it was engaged in seventeen battles and sieges, winning four honors, but losing in killed alone 315 men. In November, 1814, the Fortieth sailed for Madeira with sealed orders, and, upon these being opened, to New Orleans to reinforce Sir Edward Pakenham. The mouth of the Mississippi was reached on the 9th of January, and on the two following days the men were sent up the river in launches. The news of the British defeat met them on their way, and they returned to their transports. The account of the subsequent proceedings of the British fleet and army is taken by Capt. Smythies from the manuscript diary of one of the officers of the regiment, Lieut. Hugh B. Wray. It differs in such an extraordinary manner from the official reports, both of the English and the American commanders, that we quote it in full:

"7th February.—We just received orders to weigh and proceed, in two divisions, to attack (it is supposed) Fort Mobile, which is reported amazingly strong—we are now off. We are to go as far as possible in these ships, and then proceed in small boats. I trust we may succeed, and, indeed, I have no doubt. One division, consisting of the 95th, 7th, and *old 40th*, are to make the first attack, and the other, under command of the senior officer of the second brigade, to support us.

"12th February.—We are now as far as the large ships can go, and the small boats are all ready—some off. We are to be commanded by Gen. Lambert, and expect to be close under the fort by morning. We this moment arrived —10:06 A. M.—on our island (called Dauphine), within two small miles of the fort we are to *take* in the morning.

"13th February. — Last night, about 12 o'clock, one of our corvettes, with two hundred Indians, attempted to storm the fort, but, unfortunately, in the dark, the vessel grounded, and our sailors were obliged to blow her up. The explosion illumined the whole bay. The Indians were made prisoners and, of course, all failed. We, as yet, have received no orders to move.

"14th February.— Last night we received orders to be under arms before daylight, and I am now before the fort, in our bivouac, out of range of shot. The fellows are pelting away shot and shell like the mischief. This morning I came off a working party, when we were close enough. We have not lost many men.

"16th February.—Our people have been hard at work these two days back forming some batteries and getting the guns mounted. We were to have commenced cannonading at 10 o'clock this morning, and to have stormed where they would breach for us; when—much to our surprise—they (the enemy) sent an officer and flag of truce, about half-past nine, with terms of capitulation. The prisoners of war, consisting of one full colonel, some officers, and about six hundred rank and file, some women and children, are all embarking on board some flats, and are going on board the line-of-battle ships. Their fort was a square of four embrasures, mounting altogether twenty-two guns, all eighteen and twenty-four pounders; and our position was two small sand hills on each flank of the enemy, with a small sandbag battery in their front, on which were mounted four howitzers. It is said we are to return to-morrow to the island, which is about two miles across the channel, and that we will get tents soon, which is a comfort not yet enjoyed by us. We always bivouac, though the rains are very heavy."

In the various histories of the war, the British are said to have landed above Mobile Point on the 8th, the batteries were ready to receive their guns on the 10th, and at three o'clock on the 11th the fort was surrendered. Neither Gen. Lambert, the English commander, nor Col. Lawrence, the American, in their official reports, mentions the attempt of the corvette to storm the fort and the capture of the Indians. Gen. Jackson, in his despatch to the Secretary of War dated February 24, announcing the surrender of the fort, says: "This is an event which I little expected to happen but after the most gallant resistance; that it should have taken place without even a fire from the enemy's batteries, is as astonishing as it is mortifying," the implication being that no real resistance was made on the part of our troops. On the other hand, the description given by Lieut. Wray of the fort, its armament and the English works, agrees fairly with the plan and official documents contained in Major A. L. Latour's 'Historical Memoir of the War.' Considering the fact that the English officer's account is so full of minute detail apparently written at the time of the events which it narrates, it is very difficult to reconcile his statements with the commonly received accounts, and we leave the problem without any attempt at a solution.

From this time the fortunes of the regiment hardly claim our attention. It returned to Europe just in time to take part in the battle of Waterloo, where it was commanded by the Duke of Wellington himself at the final charge, and lost 221 men in killed and wounded. Its foreign service after this was in Australia, India, Afghanistan, and New Zealand. During the Crimean war and the Sepoy Mutiny it was in New South Wales. South Africa alone is the only quarter of the world in which England has a peculiar interest where it has not served with distinction. Much of this latter half of the volume, from the close of the Napoleonic wars, is of an official character, consisting of regimental lists, extracts from general orders, and bare records of changes of officers and stations. These are interspersed, however, especially in the account of the Indian campaigns and the Maori war, with personal narratives, which give a vivid idea of the soldier's life. For the past two years the regiment has been stationed in Ireland.

An appendix contains, among other things, biographical notices of all colonels and lieutenant-colonels, that of Mascarene being contributed by one of his descendants in this country. There are also some rules regarding the employment of light-infantry companies issued in 1772 and brought to a practical test in the Revolutionary war. Among the illustrations are portraits of Lieut.-Gen. Richard Philipps, first colonel and Governor of Nova Scotia; Maj.-Gen. Paul Mascarene; Gen. Sir John Doyle, Bart.; and Gen. Sir Thos. Musgrave, Bart., together with a copy of the Germantown medal. The edition of this painstaking work is limited to 250 numbered copies.

How to Study and Teach History. With particular reference to the history of the United States. By B. A. Hinsdale, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of the Science and Art of Teaching in the University of Michigan. International Education Series. D. Appleton & Co. 1894.

THE prejudice against teachers' guide-books is dying fast, if it be not now dead. The teacher taught is no longer looked upon as a fine old English comedy. But a few years since, and though one might write 'The Microscopist's Vademecum,' 'The Moulder's Manual,' or 'The Boys' Own Book of Games,' without provoking ridicule or obloquy from any of the influential classes addressed, the humblest attempt at pointing out to teachers the beauty of a bet-

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ter way had much the same effect as the annual gift received by a worthy dissenting minister of Lancashire from a church-going neighbor of a parcel of Windsor soap. "They tell me," said an applicant for kitchen service to a lady well known in the realms of cookery and fiction, "that you teach your girls to wash dishes." "I do," replied the lady. "Well," said the applicant, after an indignant pause, "I think dish-washing comes by instinct." So, doubtless, have many teachers thought of their vocation. Normal schools were bad enough, but a normal press, if one may use the phrase, was an intolerable abnormality. All that is changed: teachers have become educators; education has evolved into pedagogy, and the book in hand is the twenty-fifth in a series of its kind.

The subject is difficult and delicate, for to many the teaching of history, beyond other teaching, comes by nature; while to ask a man to write about it often proves an invitation to suicide in the quagmires of philosophy. Fortunately, Dr. Hinsdale is competent in both knowledge and judgment, and his book will neither offend nor bewilder. Elementary and secondary teachers, whom he has had mainly in mind, will find much to interest and stimulate, even though they are already familiar with recent thought upon this subject; his works should prove of great value to scholars in normal and high schools, and college students. He begins with an examination of the nature of history, interweaves the theories of writing and teaching it, and concludes with a practical example of proper method drawn from the history of our own country. In the course of the discussion there is some confusion of arrangement, and it is difficult to be sure one has found all that is said on any phase; a thought is often jotted down where it occurred to the writer rather than in its logical place; but what is said is commonly well said and worth saying.

On the nature of history Dr. Hinsdale has confined himself somewhat closely to quotations from other writers, and the resulting illumination is not dazzling, but it must be remembered that in few if any branches of knowledge is the confusion of terms so great. History is the name of a science and an art; it is also commonly used to denote the subject-matter on which each is based. It means, first, a set of facts or events; secondly, the effort to learn about these facts or events, the what and the why of them; and thirdly, it means the effort to describe and account for the facts or events with literary skill. Moreover, the champions of history as science and history as literature mutually yearn to exterminate one another—a condition which does not exist in the case of mineralogy or the calculus, though an approach to it may be noted in certain of the natural sciences, and a counterpart might, without much exaggeration, be imagined to prevail between sociologists or physiologists and the purveyors of realistic fiction. May we not hope for the day when it shall be amicably agreed and understood that the historical student has no concern with the literary side of the subject, and that he who finds pleasure in historical literature need have but a very subordinate interest in historical research?

What is said of the adaptation of instruction to different grades may be commended to parents and to all who, like public librarians, are called upon to guide children's reading. Young children are attracted by the concrete and the individual, because such facts correspond to their experiences and are most easily reproduced in imagination; hence the story, and the story of individual action or passion, appeals to them most strongly. In teaching history begin with biography, says Dr. Hinsdale; we would substitute another phrase, since "biography" in our mind is associated with drab-covered books, three inches thick, printed in depressing type, with few paragraphs and a plentiful lack of "conversations." Begin with stories of personality, we prefer to say. Guided by the imagination must the novice, be he young or old, approach the Muse of History if he would profit by her lessons; and by the presentation of personality and the individual life in minute detail is that lagging servant most easily aroused. Hence the importance of poetry and fiction in historical teaching. We have heard of late that the historical novel is a failure and an impossibility; but while we were still shuddering at the crime of reading nineteenth-century ideas into mediæval noddles, the historical novel has sprung into new life. It will always live, and always will it have power to charm men back into the past; for what the artist touches, though he scatter anachronisms on every page, will rouse the imagination in duller souls, and set them on the search for better knowledge. Once induce a pupil to visualize a past transaction, and you can lead him with an ever-growing enthusiasm into the regions of the higher historical abstractions. Without that power, you may make him a Casaubon or a Dryasdust, but nothing more.

It might be thought unnecessary to insist before an audience of teachers on the prime importance of a knowledge of history to those who would teach it, but doubtless there are those in any profession who find it easier to acquire manner than matter. To all intending teachers who may be tempted of the goddess superficiality, these words are golden:

"The most important topic has been reserved to the last—a knowledge of history itself. Perhaps there is reason to fear that the normal schools and the institutes are leading some teachers to think that the first requisite is not knowledge, but methods. No greater mistake could possibly be made. Methods cannot be understood until subject-matter has been mastered, and even if they could be, they would prove empty and worthless" (p. 151).

Equally sound are the remarks on the place of the lecture and the seminary method in historical instruction. Of the latter the author says:

"Its proper function lies in the field of original work. From this it follows necessarily that the students admitted to it should be picked students, not only mature in mind, but already well instructed in history and its methods, and able, by reason of practice, to carry on to advantage lines of independent study under general supervision. It follows also that the professor himself should be a picked man, well acquainted with original sources and other authorities, and capable of directing and inspiring students. These points it is important to state in the plainest language, because there is reason to fear a more or less general travesty of seminary methods the country over. The lecture has already made its way into some strange places, and we need not be surprised to see the seminary follow in its wake" (p. 65).

In truth, there is an ugly side to the new methods in teaching history. It is agreed that it does not pay to teach the higher mathematics to those who are incapable of becoming mathematicians. It is an equal waste of energy to exhibit the whole apparatus of history before miscellaneous classes, a portion of whom may be capable of grasping and digesting what is set forth, while more will go away in the belief that history is nothing but a matter of turning up some original sources, adhering closely to all the original errors, and making special mention of every book one takes from the shelf. The *Index Medicus* is inestimable, but lightly ballasted voyagers on Aesculapian seas have sometimes thought by sounding in its depths alone to find the flood that should bear them on to fortune. A like danger must attend the opening up of the sources of historical research, but let us at least not encourage any one, in school or in college, to think himself an historian on the strength of a foray among town records. Scissors and the paste-pot are equally objectionable in historical composition, whether they be exercised on original sources or on compilations of the *n*th degree.

The book closes with a timely chapter on the importance of teaching civics. Recent events have disclosed a startling ignorance of the very meaning of political organization on the part of intelligent men. We are not, at heart, a law-abiding people nor true lovers of Justice; the air around her shrine is too pure and cold for our lowland lungs. We, the people, love the easy virtues, a mercy born of selfishness, a good nature that drags all high things down and looks neither forward nor back. It will profit a child little to know the details of municipal administration, or to repeat by rote the national Constitution, if he fail to understand why these things exist.

As we lay the book aside there comes to us again the question, What, after all, is the value of teaching methods in education? Value it must have; the conscientious teacher, who seeks aid on every side, cannot but find some hint in books like this. Help it must give, also, to such as are fitting themselves to become teachers. Yet the essence of good teaching, of course, lies not in method, and no manual will convey it. It is inborn and passes only between kindred spirits. A good teacher makes good teachers because like draws to like.

M. Crispi chez M. de Bismarck: Journal de voyage. Traduit de l'Italien. Rome: Forzani & Co. 1894.

THE recent return to power of Signor Crispi gives timely interest to the journal of the two visits which he made, during his former period of government, to Prince Bismarck, with whom he has been in friendship and correspondence for twenty years. The journal is known to be by Commendatore Mayor of the diplomatic service. Mayor has the merited reputation of a most exact and conscientious reporter, and, though of German-Swiss descent, is a patriotic servant of King Humbert, and has enjoyed for years the confidence of Signor Crispi as far as that unexplained if not inexplicable statesman ever gives his confidence to any one. What he has to say, therefore, of Crispi may be absolutely depended on for all its positive statements, though, having had Crispi's revision, it probably contains but little of his political opinions, certainly none which would provoke international differences now that he is again at the helm.

Mayor's sketch of Crispi's character, if slight, is graphic:

"Whoever has seen much of Crispi knows that secretiveness is one of his characteristic traits, as taciturnity is one of his powers. He resembles in that both Garibaldi and Mazzini. Like Garibaldi, in the most serious circumstances, Crispi takes counsel only of himself; like Mazzini, he knows how to keep the most absolute silence on the plans which he contemplates, or which he is already urging to execution. When, after mature reflection, his decision is taken, he does not ask for criticisms, and if he foresees them, he keeps silence. Hence

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acts which have been prepared, sometimes long before, and of which the effect has been calculated in advance, seem to be sudden because they have not been foreseen.

"But another characteristic which Crispi has in common with Mazzini is that he never opens his mind entirely to any one. There remains in him always something impenetrable, and that 'something' which one feels kept in reserve is that which disconcerts and impresses most. Each one of his assistants knows just what is necessary or useful for him to know, and is generally ignorant of what the others know. Each holds in his hands one of the guiding-strings, and all meet in the directing hand of Crispi."

It is easy to understand that with this character, added to the most rigid views of national policy and the most exalted aims for Italian statecraft, a rigid public honesty (in spite of all the partisan attempts to blacken that honesty), and the most unflinching ideas of discipline and subordination in public administration, Crispi should be as unpopular with a court infested by personal intrigue and a bureaucracy as corrupt as any in Europe—in a country, moreover, where even the judiciary is not free from the most compulsory pressure when personal politics are involved—as he is respected by those who know him and honor public probity. Making no effort to conciliate at the expense of his official obligations, he has few friends in the bureaucracy and in the court circles as in the general circles of the politicians and financiers, which have had the more or less efficient direction of Italian affairs for some years. The fall of Crispi in 1891 was hailed as the triumph of privilege. Probably no living statesman has been so maligned or so detested by the ruling classes in his own country as Crispi. Bismarck said to Crispi one day: "I considered myself the most hated man of my day, but I confess you surpass me." In this detestation of the courtier temper for men of inflexible purposes lies much of the similarity in the positions of the two strongest statesmen of Europe now living.

"We related to the Prince," says Mayor, "a conversation which we had in the railway carriage with the Minister [Crispi] on 'political lying.' Signor Crispi, we said, absolutely excludes lying in any case. . . . The Minister intervenes to say that, in his opinion, falsehood, all question of morality apart, is in itself in most cases awkward and ineffective. We wait for what the Prince will say; he seems to reflect. Count Herbert interrupts: 'But pardon me, Excellency! In certain cases one would be gravely embarrassed. You have sometimes to do with people who question you without delicacy, with an indiscretion which puts you with your back to the wall. . . . What can you do then?' 'Avoid the question.' 'That is to betray your difficulty.' 'Be silent.' 'That is sometimes an avowal.' The Prince half turns to us and says: 'I do not like to lie; falsehood is to me odious. But I avow that sometimes in my political life I have been obliged to have recourse to it. . . . I have been forced to it, and I have always been offended with those who have obliged me to lie.'"

In general the book tells more of Bismarck and his ideas than of Crispi and his. This is no doubt due to the rigid censorship of the Italian Minister, who was, in the interest of the general public, too solicitous as to the possible effect of what he had said years ago. But what the book tells of the Prince is of capital interest, and the absolute trustworthiness of the reporter gives it the value of an historical document. One passage, which relates an anecdote of Bismarck, is even of great value as an official confirmation of what was perceived by those who were in a position to observe the French mind before 1870:

"The war of 1870-'71 was not desired by Prussia. We were prepared for it; knowing the French, we regarded it as certain some day or other. They had beaten the Russians in the Crimea, the Austrians in Italy; our turn must come. War on the Rhine was fated, all the more because we had been the victors at Sadowa. In 1867, being at Paris with the King, my master, on the occasion of the Exhibition, I made the acquaintance of a French marshal—Vaillant, . . . I believe; he was Governor of Paris. We chatted. He said to me: 'We shall cross bayonets some day.' 'Very well, if you like. But, if you please, why?' 'Because we are cocks, and one cock does not like to hear another crow louder than himself. At Sadowa you crowed too loud.'"

If Mr. Mayor's little book should succeed in dispelling some of the prevalent superstition in regard to the Italian statesman, especially in France, Europe might be thankful to its author for the revelation of the intercourse of the two men whom France insists on regarding as her most inexorable enemies. One of the most marked traits of Crispi is that he never forgets a friendly act and almost never remembers an unfriendly one, and the memory of his exile in France and the friends whom he found there, and still retains, would always insure a kindly feeling in him. But he has had the courage to refuse to accept the position of political vassal which France has always tried to impose on Italy, and which his predecessors generally accepted with more or less grace. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*

Centenary History of the South Place Society, based on four discourses given in the chapel in May and June, 1893, by Moncure D. Conway, M.A. London: Williams & Norgate; New York: Putnams. 1894.

It is an interesting fact that the history which Mr. Conway writes begins and ends with an American incumbent. The founder and first minister of the South Place Society, which, under various names, has now had a century of varied experience, was the American Universalist Elhanan Winchester, a man of much larger mind and more solid character than his contemporary, Murray, the reputed founder of Universalism in America. He went to England in 1787. He suffered much from that determination of his thoughts to rhyme with which Hosea Ballou also was afflicted. Each wrote a whole bookful of Universalist hymns. Not one of Ballou's had any merit, and if Winchester's were any better, Mr. Conway does not attempt to prove that it was so. William Vidler, who succeeded Winchester, was his first ministerial convert. He was of Baptist extraction, and the Baptist close communion was maintained by him and his people from 1794 until 1808. Before this, Mr. Vidler had become a Unitarian, and the society, attaching itself to the Unitarian body, remained formally Unitarian until some hitch in Mr. Fox's domestic affairs excited so much criticism and opposition that the Unitarian Association withdrew its sympathy, and the society entered (1834) upon an independent career. Mr. Conway leaves this matter in a wholly unsatisfactory state. He praises Mr. Fox's course and condemns the Unitarians, but of the issues at stake he says nothing.

With our arrival at the ministry of William J. Fox the interest of the narrative is much increased. It began in 1816, when Mr. Fox was in his thirtieth year. The Puritan temper of the society in his earlier course had some amusing illustrations. The singing of pieces in which the congregation could not join was condemned as "incompatible with true devotion," and the playing of the organ after the benediction as "indecorous and improper." All of Mr. Fox's tendencies and sympathies were in the liberal direction. In 1819 he stoutly opposed the prosecution of Richard Carlile for publishing Paine's 'Age of Reason.' Mr. Conway does not fail to tell us that the prosecution was conducted by a Unitarian. Mr. Fox's character and work were full of interesting traits. His personal relations were with the noblest spirits of his time. Especially did his connection with the *Monthly Repository* and the *Westminster Review*, of which he was a founder and for which he wrote the first article, widen his influence. Mr. Conway names many of those who looked to him for help and touched him with the brightness of their fame. The sisters Sarah and Eliza Flower shine on his roll with a peculiar fascination. Eliza, to whom Browning was tenderly attached until her death, was the musical genius of the society. Sarah wrote the famous hymn, "Nearer, my God, to Thee." A facsimile of an original draft of it is given, with certain changes and conjectural readings. A letter of hers to Fox, expressive of her doubts of the Bible's peculiar inspiration, is also given, and Mr. Conway says: "Of such pangs was born the hymn, 'Nearer, my God, to Thee.'" But seeing that the letter was written in 1827 and the hymn in 1840, does not his inference prolong too much the travail of her mind? Another doubtful inference is that referring to this letter as the cause of Mr. Fox's radical opinions on the subject of Biblical inspiration. On one page Mr. Conway puts the matter tentatively, but a little further on unquestioningly—a method of transforming fancy into fact by no means unusual with him. Among the illustrations of the volume are two reproductions of drawings of the sisters Sarah Flower Adams and Eliza Flower. They have the *Lydia Languish* look, but for this, no doubt, the predilection of the draughtsmen is more largely responsible than the women on whom they endeavored to improve. The pictures of Fox, Winchester, and Vidler are reproduced from engravings. Fox's reveals nothing of his militant temper, and Vidler's little of that physical bulk which called for two chairs for him to sit in at table. Mr. Conway's own picture is a photograph, and it could not be better than it is.

Much stress is laid on the reception of the Rajah Rammohun Roy by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association in 1825. It was in South Place Chapel, and Mr. Fox made the speech of the occasion, as he generally did when he was present and when eloquence was in demand. Mr. Conway hastens to the inference that the title "British and Foreign" committed the Unitarian Association of that time to something broader than Christianity, but we are obliged to doubt whether any such thought was in the minds of those who had the choosing of the name. It was at this reception that Harriet Martineau first tasted the sweetness of literary reputation. The Association had offered prizes for three essays on the diffusion of Christianity among Jews, Moslems, and Catholics, and she got them all. After Mr. Fox's retirement in 1852 the society suffered from reaction and prostration and was threatened with complete collapse. When things were at the worst Mr. Conway arrived, and they began to mend. He had gone to England in 1863, but "circumstances induced him to remain longer than he had intended," and he became the settled minister of the society. He gives an account of his stewardship very briefly and modestly. In 1884 he "was anxious to do some work for America, especially in revision of its history and criticism of its organic laws," and so came to this country and remained until 1892, when he

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returned to London and resumed the charge of the Society. The ministry of Mr. Stanton Coit, during his interregnum, is passed over in uncomplimentary silence, and there is little said of the gospel which Mr. Conway now statedly delivers to the saints. It is, we believe, the Gospel of Moral Idealism, wholly disengaged from any theistic implications, finding no goodness except in humanity, and something diabolical in the whole natural world. It would be good to know whether the hymn "Nearer, my God, to Thee," sung at South Place for twenty years before its general adoption, is still sung there, although the minister has wearied of the hopeless quest.

The Snake Ceremonials at Walpi. By J. Walter Fewkes, assisted by A. M. Stephen and J. G. Owens. (Hemenway Southwestern Archæological Expedition.) Vol IV. of Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1894.

THE ceremonies here described took place in the summer of 1891, and lasted through nine days, though they were not continuous, neither did they occur in one place, nor were they always in public. In fact, many of them were given secretly in the estufas of the antelope and the snake societies; and it was not until the ninth or concluding day that the dance in which the snakes are carried around in the mouths of some of the participants, and from which the celebration takes its name, was publicly performed. With the dance proper, its weird and uncanny character, we are well acquainted, though this is the first occasion on which the rites and observances that take place during the other days of the celebration have been described.

Of the hidden meaning of many of these rites and observances, we are ignorant; and so far as these Indians are concerned (pp. 8, 119), they do not appear to be any better off. Possibly, as Mr. Fewkes suggests, a comparison of the ceremonies observed at Walpi with those that take place, on similar occasions, at the other Moki villages, as well as among certain tribes in Mexico and Central America, may help us to a definite knowledge of their significance; but for the present, and, we fear, for some time to come, it is probable that we shall be no better informed than the Indians of to-day are said to be. But while confessing our shortcomings in this respect, it is some consolation to be told that, considered as a whole, we are no longer to grope in the dark after the true meaning of this celebration. Thus, for example, instead of assuming it to be a form of ophiolatry, we now recognize it (pp. 8, 119, 124) as an elaborate prayer for rain, with which snake worship has little or nothing to do. This is no doubt contrary to the opinion that was at one time prevalent, but it is borne out by the controlling part (pp. 13, 123) which the antelope priests have in the celebration, and it is further confirmed by the fact that the underlying idea seems to be that (p. 124) the snakes are intrusted with the prayers of the people, and are then turned loose in order to bear them to the divinities who preside over the rains. Such, we may add, is also the function of the prayer-sticks (pp. 25, 36) which are sent by a special courier, on the second day of the celebration, to the fanes of the rain-gods, who are thus made acquainted with the wishes of the petitioners.

In regard to the serpents, it may be well to say that the venomous character of some of them is now conceded; and it is probable that the immunity with which they are handled is not due to any specific which the Indians are supposed to possess, but results from the fact that not only are they carried in such a way as to prevent their striking, but that the "hugger," as the attendant priest is called, is always present with his whip to guard against an accident.

In conclusion, we take the liberty of protesting against the wholesale use of Indian terms and phrases in which our author indulges. The practice is, to say the least, reprehensible, and is justifiable only on the ground that the English language cannot furnish an equivalent for the thing spoken of. To adopt it, then, when there is such an equivalent is a custom which must affect a writer injuriously in so far as it makes his work tedious, and thus limits the number of his readers to those whom necessity obliges to study his pages. In the case of Mr. Fewkes this is unfortunate, for his account is of interest aside from its ethnological value. It is also unnecessary, for he is a scholar as well as an observer, and does not need the aid of a doubtful process to furnish forth his vocabulary.

La Province sous l'ancien régime. Par Albert Babeau. 2 vols. Paris: Firmin-Didot & Cie. 1894.

THE conclusion which comes clearly from these chapters on provincial estates, parlements, governors, bishops, and intendants is that monarchical government in France was not so absolute in fact as it was in the theories of the legists. They might declare, "Si veut le roi, si veut la loi." Louis XIV., in composing his memoirs for the Dauphin, might write, "La volonté de Dieu est que, quiconque est né sujet obéisse sans discernement," and might push this thought in detail to its utmost logical reach. Nevertheless, it was far easier to state lucidly the underlying principle of the monarchy than to run an administrative machine which was not the product of some convention of statesmen, but which had been built up and built over, according to the exigencies of the national life, varying from period to period and province to province. Each separate piece, however obscure, cumbrous or even useless, was so supported by traditions that it could not be left out of the account. All this must have opposed to seemingly triumphant despotism an irreducible wall of inertia. If we consider the mere fact which M. Babeau emphasizes, that comparatively few offices were filled by the king, and that almost every executive act was carried out by an officer whose office was his own property, and who, therefore, could not be removed except by some form of legal violence, we are forced to modify our common notions of Bourbon absolutism. In illustrating this point M. Babeau tells how, in one of the parishes of Champagne, a lieutenant of the local court thwarted the attempt of the sub-delegate, backed by the intendant and the King's council itself, to install a new syndic after a disputed election. Such conflicts of relatively independent magistrates might be advantageous to liberty if due to impulses other than jealousy of rival officials.

Those who find the men of '93 a puzzling problem, and who wish to discover why orators who loudly professed a love of liberty trampled upon it in such cowardly ways, might find a suggestion or two in the attitude of the old Government towards all kinds of liberty. Perhaps the Terrorists were a case of "reversion to type," and the type was the Bourbon policy. "Suspect" was assuredly not a classification which they invented. It had been familiar to certain intendants years before. And probably few of Carrier's orders exceed in barbaric ferocity the despatch of Louvois quoted by M. Babeau:

"L'intention de Sa Majesté," wrote Louvois, November 13, 1689, referring to the French Protestants, "est toujours que l'on essaie de tomber avec des troupes sur toutes les assemblées qui se feront, et que si l'on peut joindre ceux qui les composeront on fasse main basse, sans distinction de sexe; et que si après en avoir tué un grand nombre, on fait quelques prisonniers, on leur fasse diligemment leur procès et qu'on les condamne aux peines portées par l'édit d'octobre, 1683," etc.

This was not the only order Louvois gave to the same effect. In general, M. Babeau thinks the personal character of the intendants was a guarantee that civil liberty, somewhat arbitrarily under their power, would be protected. M. Babeau's opinion, furthermore, of the administration of the intendants is very favorable to their uprightness and wisdom. In concluding the second volume, which is wholly taken up with the description of different phases of their work, he writes:

"Tous ceux qui, sans parti pris, ont passé de longues heures à dépouiller les liasses, les régistres et les cartons des archives, ont été frappés de voir, au milieu du fatras des statistiques, des mémoires ou des procès-verbaux, surgir dans certaines lettres de ministres et d'intendants l'âme même de l'administration française, faite de sagesse, d'humanité, et d'intégrité."

And yet, in another place, speaking of the rôle of the intendants in the *pays d'élection*, he compares them, justly, one would say, to the shepherd who tries to keep his flock in good condition in order that it may furnish the best wool at the annual shearing-time.

In his statement of the relation of the administrative machinery of the old order to the Revolution and the new régime, M. Babeau appears to believe that everything in the new régime—prefect, department, councils-general, subprefects, arrondissements, religions, judicial and financial circumscriptions — was modelled on the old order of things; that the Revolution was hardly more than a disturbing incident in the growth of the French system. Undoubtedly there is a continuity in the history of French institutions which has been largely lost sight of, but the work of demolition and reconstruction accomplished by the Revolution was not incidental, but vital to the whole.

There is one thing about these volumes which is disappointing. M. Rabeau shows unwearied diligence in the study of the sources, but he fails in that orderliness of statement which with many French historians is in a real sense artistic. He almost drowns his subject in illustrations. Moreover, by selecting his illustrations indiscriminately from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he is in danger of obscuring the element of historical development which so characterized the local institutions of France during those two centuries. But this defect is one against which judicious students can easily guard themselves. It is worth noting that M. Babeau has added a satisfactory index to his volumes.

Recollections of Old Country Life. By J. K. Fowler. Longmans, Green & Co. 1894.

A CULINARY artist of the first rank prides himself on being able to take the same kind of meat day after day and make it do duty each day as a new dish. By some ingenious variation in the manner of cooking or in the flavor of the sauce, he can persuade the diner that he

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is enjoying a novelty. It is probable that this idea presented itself to Mr. Fowler (who was, indeed, brought up in the hotel business) and led him to take the materials which he used in his 'Echoes of Old Country Life' two years ago, and throw them together in somewhat different form in the 'Recollections of Old Country Life' this year. Two years is a long period in the life of such books, and he was perhaps justified in the belief that nobody would find him out. For the second time, therefore, we are told of the "romantic and remarkable" rise of Lord Beaconsfield, and how Mr. Fowler's advice led to Conservative success in the Buckinghamshire election of 1876. Indeed, in the present volume alone we have two accounts of that wonderful election, which evidently made a lasting impression on Mr. Fowler's mind. Then he tells us all over again the story of his visit to the French vineyards in 1868; how the university steeplechases used to be run in the vale of Aylesbury; of the halcyon days of short-horn cattle-breeding, and so on through the table of contents. A good many stories of the Joe Miller type are scattered in a casual manner through the present volume, and some new subjects are discussed; but Mr. Fowler is by no means a *cordon bleu*, and it is only too evident that he is striving to make this second dish differ from the first, and that his resources in the matter of literary sauce are strictly limited.

Moreover, Mr. Fowler is careless about matters of fact. He says that the west coast of France is "hallowed in the minds of all Englishmen by the battlefields of Crécy and Agincourt"—no doubt a patriotic idea, but open to serious objection on the geographical side. Elsewhere he quotes Thackeray as writing about the Irish question in 1872—some nine years after he had ceased to write on any questions. Such blunders as these are usually charged to the proof-reader, but no such excuse can be made for Mr. Fowler's innate snobbishness. He is for ever congratulating himself that he enjoys "the friendship of and social intercourse with" somebody or other. From the "great family of the Rothschilds" at one end of the scale down to "many gentlemen and professional jockeys" at the other, it is his "privilege to enjoy" a variety of friendships. The value of the privilege varies with the social standing of the friend, and when it comes to a live duke, Mr. Fowler becomes emotional and intense: "I may say that I never knew a man who was so unostentatious in anything that appertained to his position, or who so little led you to suppose he was proud of his descent, as Richard Plantagenet Nugent Brydges Chandos Temple Grenville, Duke of Buckingham and Chandos." History fails to relate that the owner of all these names ever accomplished anything worthy of note—but then he was polite to Mr. Fowler!

In a chapter on epitaphs, containing a singularly poor collection in view of the variety to be found in English churchyards, Mr. Fowler quotes (incorrectly) one well-known example, which has a peculiar appropriateness in such a book:

"Here lies the body of Lady O'Looney,
Grand niece of Burke, commonly called the Sublime.
She was bland, passionate, and deeply religious.
Also she painted in water-colors and sent several pictures to the exhibition.
She was first cousin to Lady Jones,
And of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

Having prefixed to both his books a likeness of himself, Mr. Fowler should have hesitated to make the statement—however true it may be—that his mother was a remarkably beautiful woman. Evidently he has never heard of Talleyrand's "C'était donc votre père qui n'était pas si bien." There are many other details about the Fowler family and its different branches which have no special value outside the family circle. On the whole, it is impossible to recommend Mr. Fowler's *réchauffé* even for warm-weather consumption.

Aspects of Pessimism. By R. M. Wenley, M.A., D.Sc., Lecturer on Philosophy in Queen Margaret College, Glasgow, formerly Examiner in Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1894.

Mr. Wenley's several essays are unequally related to his titular subject. Evidently they have been written, off and on, without any thought of their ever being brought together as the chapters of a book. But in each there is a certain gravitation of the writer's mind to the subject of pessimism, and in three of the six, at least, this gravitation is pronounced. The fifth essay, although its subject is "Berkeley, Kant, and Schopenhauer," has the least to do with pessimism, being a criticism of their theories of knowledge. Here and elsewhere there is much difficulty inherent in the subject, but Mr. Wenley's gift for exposition seems to lag behind his taste for philosophical studies. He does much of his thinking under ground, so that what he does openly is lacking in coherency. Often terse and epigrammatic, he has many sentences to which, presumably, when writing them he attached some definite meaning, but which convey no such meaning to us. He is one of a school who speak few words with the understanding to many in an unknown tongue; but as compared with John or Edward Caird, or T. H. Green, his vagueness is as ten to one.

The essay upon Berkeley, Kant, and Schopenhauer is another token of the increasing respect in which Berkeley has recently been held. It distinguishes a difference between his earlier and later thought as nominalistic and realistic—that doing good service against abstract ideas and representative perceptions, and this ranking him rather with the realists than with the idealists through his contention that the things of sense are adumbrations of a reality which exists behind their veil. The treatment of Kant is one more attempt to adjust the differences of his different Critiques or to determine which of them is the output of the genuine Kant. The method of Edward Caird, which endeavors to distinguish what was implicit in Kant from his explicit teachings, is frankly accepted. His idea that sense furnishes mind with material independent of mental activity is set down as a gross mistake. But the implicit Kant corrects this mistake, and he too is found among the realists in the final outcome of his thought. Schopenhauer's claim to be the true continuator of Kant is not disputed, but his adhesion was to the negative, explicit Kant of the earlier Critiques. This adhesion brought him to a nominalism that was the negation of all reality, but from this he vaulted straightway by means of his doctrine of causality into a realism that made an irrational Will the source of all phenomena. It should be said that Mr. Wenley's use of the term realism to express both the antithesis of nominalism and the doctrine of an ultimate objective reality, is troublesome and misleading.

In the last essay in the book, "Pessimism as a System," Schopenhauer is dealt with in the more characteristic aspect of his thought. The treatment is unsympathetic with him personally and with pessimism in its general implications, while the tribute is not wanting which Schopenhauer's intellectual brilliancy and literary skill invariably command. Schopenhauer's doctrine of will is connected with his pessimism in a passage which is the best piece of exposition in the book. But his experience was father of his thought; his doctrine the reflection of his character and life. Mr. Wenley is not joking when he says it is thoroughly unsatisfactory. What he intends is that it does not adequately represent the facts of individual or universal life, and that it involves several gratuitous assumptions. Hartmann's closer contact with the contents of modern science, and especially with the Darwinian biology, is a sovereign cordial after the exanimating "up-in-the-air-balloon-work" of the preceding pages, so remote from those concrete experiences of human suffering which make a thousand pessimists where Schopenhauer and Hartmann do not make one. But Mr. Wenley's predilection for the metaphysical prevents his making much of Hartmann's concrete element. He does not seem to us to deal too sternly with a system which proposes as the chief end of man that he should pity God and do what he can to alleviate His eternal wretchedness.

Of the other essays, the "Jewish Pessimism" is most attractive and important. It is confined pretty closely to Job and Ecclesiastes, and the pessimism is shown to be not ultimate in either case, the underlying theism preventing it from being so. The treatment of Job is extremely superficial, without any consideration of the integrity of the book. A casual phrase discloses Mr. Wenley's acceptance of the Epilogue as belonging with the rest, but certainly its solution of Job's difficulties is not that of the poetic chapters less the Elihu section, which in its turn has still another. Mr. Wenley has no hesitation in assigning Ecclesiastes to the Greek period, but he contends that it is less subject to Greek influences than the majority of recent critics have allowed. The chapter on Mediæval Mysticism lends itself to the vulgar misconception that mysticism is anything misty in philosophy or theology, so little does it do to make clear what mysticism actually is and was. The best part of this chapter is its third section, "Thomas à Kempis, Mysticism and Pessimism," the better for its frank disclosure of the limitations of the 'Imitatio' on the ecclesiastical and ascetic side.

It is perhaps too late to expect anything startling or even fresh in a general criticism of "Hamlet," and while Mr. Wenley's criticism is a creditable piece of work, it adds little or nothing to the volumes that have been written on the subject heretofore. "The Pessimistic Element in Goethe" is a much fresher subject, and its treatment is much more instructive and engaging. A progress is traced from the early violence and revolt of 'Werther' to the second parts of 'Faust' and 'Wilhelm Meister.' Goethe attains to victory and peace through resignation and devotion to the loftiest ideals.

"Zum Augenblicke dürft' ich sagen,
Verweile doch, du bist so schön!"

Aero-Therapeutics: or, the Treatment of Lung Disease by Climate. (The Lumleian Lectures for 1893.) By Charles Theodore Williams, M.A., M.D. Macmillan.

The elements of climate, or those conditions of nature under which men live, are temperature and atmospheric moisture, pressure, movement, and electricity; and these depend

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upon latitude, altitude, the proximity of oceans and their currents, of deserts, of mountain ranges, soil, rainfall, and winds. It is especially in the cases of diseases of the lungs, permeated as those organs constantly are with air, that the state of the atmosphere is distinctly important; for whatever part the bacillus of tuberculosis takes in the causation of consumption, its propagation is greatly modified by the atmosphere its victim breathes. *A priori* this would hardly seem probable, for the vast aerial ocean at whose bottom we live, and whose waves and currents are constantly intermingling, should be substantially uniform in composition. Nevertheless it is true, and not only in consumption but in other serious diseases of the lungs, that those invalids who happily can avail themselves of favorable climatic conditions have much better chances of recovery.

These lectures by Dr. Williams, while intended primarily for the guardians of the British invalid whose dreary winter skies and watery air must be avoided, take into intelligent comparison the health resorts of the whole world; the only conspicuous exception being the Sandwich Islands. The treatment of the subject is broad and philosophical, and not only the advantages but the disadvantages and the reasons in each case for the objects in view are detailed. It is probably the best treatise on climatology in its relations to health that we have, and it may safely be consulted for details nowhere else collected. In this comparison the great London physician places the coast of southern California and the plateaus and parks of Colorado at the top of the scale; and to our own people, for themselves or their kinsfolk looking for health, even more than to the English, should this become a reference book. The next edition will note that Fort Conger, with its temperature of minus 66.2 degrees F. (p. 30) is not in the United States, and that the well-known Dr. Loomis should not be concealed as Loanis (p. 179). Dr. Williams's own text is beautifully fluent and explicit, a model of scientific description. Perhaps, however, the eloquent author, who quotes verbatim from the meteorological diary of Pike's Peak because "abridgment would spoil the pure American style in which the narrative is written," does not understand that these observers were enlisted men of the army, selected for general intelligence and fidelity, but not for literary training. It must be admitted, however, that their account is spirited and unambiguous.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Bartlett, John. A New and Complete Concordance of the Dramatic Works and Poems of William Shakespeare. Macmillan. $14.
Carus, Dr. Paul. Fundamental Problems. 2d ed. Chicago: *Open Court* Publishing Co. 50 cents.
Downing's U. S. Customs Tariff. R. F. Downing & Co. $1.
Fuller, Anna. Peak and Prairie. From a Colorado Sketch-Book. Putnams. $1.
Goodyear, W. H. Renaissance and Modern Art. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent. $1.
Hardwicke, Henry. The Art of Winning Cases; or, Modern Advocacy. Albany and New York: Banks & Bros.
Judson, Prof. H. P. Europe in the Nineteenth Century. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent. $1.
Lacouperie, Terrien de. Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization from 2300 B. C. to 200 A. D. London: Asher & Co.
Muir, Olive B. Thy Nature is Woman. G. W. Dillingham. 50 cents.
Nichols, Prof. E. L. A Laboratory Manual of Physics and Applied Electricity. Vol. II. Macmillan. $3.25.
Palmer, Julius A., Jr. Memories of Hawaii, and Hawaiian Correspondence. Boston: Lee & Shepard.
Ritchie, Mrs. Anne T., and Evans, Richardson. Lord Amherst. [Rulers of India.] Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. 60 cents.
Scott, Sir W. Count Robert of Paris. [Dryburgh Edition. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black; New York: Macmillan. $1.25.
Seelye, Prof. J. H. Citizenship: A Book for Classes in Government and Law. Boston: Ginn & Co. 35 cents.
Turner, Ethel S. Seven Little Australians. Ward, Lock & Bowden. $1.
Winchell, Prof. Alexander. Walks and Talks in the Geological Field. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent. $1.

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